OCTOBER 22, 2018

TIME

HOW TRUMPISM OUTLASTS TRUMP

By SAM TANENHAUS

THE STRENGTH OF HIS SUPPORT

By BRIAN BENNETT and JUSTIN WORLAND

TIME
VOL. 192, NO. 16 | 2018

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Trump supporter Blake Hurst, in overalls, with his family at their farm in Tarkio, Mo., on Sept. 23

Photograph by Barrett Emke for TIME

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly, except for two skipped weeks in January and one skipped week in March, May, July, August, September and December due to combined issues by Time Inc., a wholly owned subsidiary of Meredith Corporation. **PRINCIPAL OFFICE:** 225 Liberty Street, New York, NY 10281-1008. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send all UAA to CFS (See DMM 507.1.5.2); **Non-Postal and Military Facilities:** send address corrections to TIME Magazine, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement No. 40110178. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Postal Station A, P.O. Box 4322, Toronto, Ontario M5W 3G9. GST No. 888381621RT0001. © 2018 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. U.S. Subscriptions: $49 for one year. **SUBSCRIBERS:** If the Postal Service alerts us that your magazine is undeliverable, we have no further obligation unless we receive a corrected address within two years. Your bank may provide updates to the card information we have on file. You may opt out of this service at any time. **CUSTOMER SERVICE AND SUBSCRIPTIONS:** For 24/7 service, visit ***time.com/customerservice.*** You can also call 1-800-843-TIME; write to TIME, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL, 33662-2120; or email ***privacy@time.customersvc.com.*** **MAILING LIST:** We make a portion of our mailing list available to reputable firms. If you would prefer that we not include your name, please call or write us. **PRINTED IN THE U.S.** ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

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Conversation

WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

SHE SAID The Oct. 15 cover illustration by John Mavroudis, who created a portrait from the words of Christine Blasey Ford, was praised by readers like Barbara M. Di Fiore of East Rochester, N.Y., who called it "a stunning piece of art" that conveyed more than any photo. Pritish De of Waukesha, Wis., said Haley Sweetland Edwards' story about Ford's testimony during confirmation hearings for Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh "reinforces the galvanizing power of voice." But Angie Thompson of Leonardtown, Md., objected that not enough weight was given to the fact that Kavanaugh had not been found guilty in a court of law. Ruth Knowles Scholz of Sturgeon Bay, Wis., was left disappointed by the process for a different reason. "I'm 92 and I thought at last women had a voice!" she wrote after Kavanaugh was confirmed.

> ***'I hope the next time her picture is on the cover is [as] "Person of the Year."'***
>
> **A. PAUL KLEIN,** Monterey, Calif.

OUR RACIST SOUL Eddie Glaude's Sept. 17 essay on hate in America sparked continuing debate. Kathryn Bonnell of Amboy, Ill., said that it should be "required reading" and that "this country could be healed" by acknowledging racism. But Igor Shpudejko of Goodyear, Ariz., said he didn't agree with Glaude's premise that white people are uniformly privileged in the U.S. And Klaus Karbaumer of Platte City, Mo., while agreeing that white Americans should face the reality of racism, wrote that the same kind of "deliberate ignorance" can be present in anyone—especially when it comes to climate change.

> ***'The United States does not have a racist soul. It does have a racist past.'***
>
> **BOB STRAIGHT,** Fredericksburg, Va.

FOUR FREEDOMS Norman Rockwell's classic illustrations of the "Four Freedoms," as set forth by FDR's 1941 State of the Union, have been given a photographic update by artists Hank Willis Thomas and Emily Shur. On TIME.com, get a peek at the project—part of a campaign by the arts organization For Freedoms—and learn why they ended up with dozens of different versions of the images, including *Freedom of Worship,* right. More at **time.com/four-freedoms**

NEW STARS This week, TIME readers around the world may see a variety of covers, including these three featuring Next Generation Leaders. See more on page 44 and at **time.com/nextgenleaders**

Soccer star Kylian Mbappé, photographed on Aug. 29 by Christopher Anderson for TIME

K-pop boy band BTS, photographed on Sept. 10 by Nhu Xuan Hua for TIME

Actor and activist Amandla Stenberg, photographed on Sept. 28 by Geordie Wood for TIME

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FOR FREEDOMS: HANK WILLIS THOMAS AND EMILY SHUR—COURTESY OF FOR FREEDOMS; MBAPPÉ: MAGNUM PHOTOS

FROM **PAUL GREENGRASS** THE DIRECTOR OF
CAPTAIN PHILLIPS AND **THE BOURNE ULTIMATUM**

"★★★★★"
The Guardian

"STUNNING"
IndieWire

"TREMENDOUSLY EMOTIONAL"
Hollywood Reporter

"A BRAVE AND MASTERLY FILM"
The Guardian

A NETFLIX FILM

22 JULY

THE TRUE STORY OF A DAY
THAT CHANGED A NATION

WRITTEN AND DIRECTED BY PAUL GREENGRASS

75 MOSTRA INTERNAZIONALE D'ARTE CINEMATOGRAFICA LA BIENNALE DI VENEZIA 2018 Official Selection

IN SELECT THEATERS AND ON
NETFLIX | WATCH NOW

Official Selection tiff Toronto International Film Festival 2018

For the Record

'I wish people would focus on what I do, not what I wear.'

MELANIA TRUMP,
U.S. First Lady, who was criticized for wearing a white pith helmet, associated with British colonialism, in Kenya

45

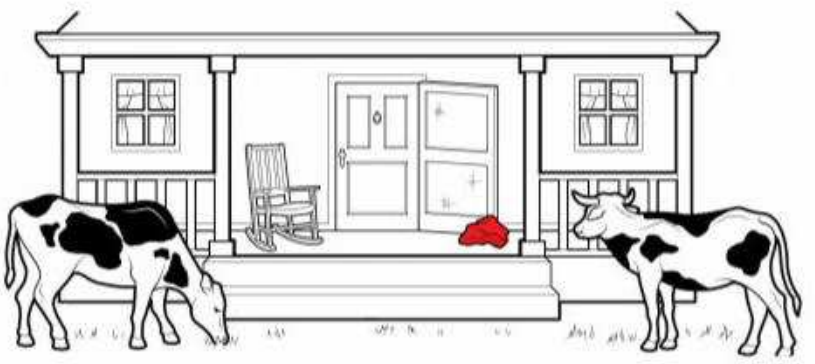
Age until which men and women can be vaccinated against the human papillomavirus, thanks to action from the Food and Drug Administration that extends the approved age range for the cervical-cancer-preventing vaccine; the range had been 9 to 26

'A SHADOW OVER THE FUTURE OF CHINA-U.S. RELATIONS.'

WANG YI,
China's Foreign Minister, describing the effect of tariffs and other tensions on relations between the two nations at a meeting in Beijing with U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo

$100,000

Estimated value of a nearly 23-lb. meteorite that a Michigan farmer had been using as a doorstop



'I didn't answer either, because I thought it was a spam call.'

PAUL M. ROMER,
a winner of the 2018 Nobel Prize in Economics, on ignoring two calls from the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences; Romer shared the prize with William Nordhaus

'In the past I've been reluctant to publicly voice my political opinions, but due to several events in my life and in the world in the past two years, I feel very differently about that now.'

TAYLOR SWIFT,
pop star, in an Instagram post announcing she'll vote in Tennessee for Democratic candidates for the Senate and the House; Vote.org reported 105,000 voter registrations in the 24 hours after her post, a significant spike

'I guess I forgive him.'

STORMY DANIELS,
adult-film actor, saying she doesn't hold a grudge against Donald Trump's former lawyer Michael Cohen

$80 million

Estimated opening-weekend ticket sales grossed by *Venom*—an October record; with the help of $40 million for *A Star Is Born,* the first weekend of this month was the biggest October weekend in box-office history

Drew Barrymore
EgyptAir apologizes after its in-flight mag runs a Q&A with the actor she says she didn't do

Drew Brees
New Orleans Saints quarterback breaks Peyton Manning's all-time passing record

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: ABC WORLD NEWS TONIGHT; AP; BBC; CENTRAL MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY; CNN; NEW YORK TIMES

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The Brief

VANISHING POINT
Earth is closer to dangerous warming than feared; an island disappears in Bangladesh

INSIDE

A #BRINGBACKOURGIRLS CAMPAIGNER ENTERS THE RACE FOR NIGERIA'S PRESIDENCY

NIKKI HALEY SETS HERSELF APART IN STEPPING DOWN AS U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE U.N.

THE AWARDING OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE SENDS A MESSAGE ON SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN WAR

PHOTOGRAPH BY IGNACIO MARIN

ENVIRONMENT

Climate catastrophe seen just 12 years away

By Justin Worland

CLIMATE SCIENTISTS HAVE UNDERSTOOD FOR decades that unchecked, man-made global warming will wreak havoc on human civilization.

Now a landmark U.N. report released on Oct. 8 rings what scientists hope is a forceful enough alarm to wake the world up. Even the glimmer of light it offers—that we already know how to address climate change and stave off some of its worst effects—bears a bitter shadow, in the finding that political leaders are nowhere close to fully undertaking the necessary steps.

Scientists on the Nobel Prize–winning Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) point to a global temperature rise of 1.5°C as a threshold the planet cannot cross without seeing some of the worst effects of climate change—including the destruction of ecosystems, the disappearance of some island nations and unpredictable changes to the planet's weather patterns. Yet according to the U.N. organization's latest report, temperatures have *already* risen 1°C as a result of human activity, and the planet could pass that 1.5°C threshold as early as 2030 if the greenhouse gases that cause global warming continue to be released at the current rate.

"We need a plan to save us," Mary Robinson, a former U.N. special envoy on climate change and a previous President of Ireland, tells TIME. "We have a short window of time and a huge responsibility."

To keep temperatures from rising more than 1.5°C, humans need to shift the trajectory of carbon-dioxide emissions so that we either stop them completely by about 2050 or pull more CO_2 out of the atmosphere than we release. The list of known ways to do that includes improving energy efficiency, electrifying transport, and taking CO_2 out of the atmosphere by reforesting massive regions and using carbon-capture technology. The rapid deployment of renewable energy will also play a key role. To keep temperatures at the target, renewable energy will need to provide at least 70% of global electricity in 2050, while coal use will essentially need to disappear.

"Limiting warming to 1.5° is not impossible but will require unprecedented transitions in all aspects of society," said Hoesung Lee, chairman of the IPCC. "Every bit of warming matters."

Some of these changes are already in motion. Renewable energy sources like wind and solar power have expanded rapidly in recent years largely as a result of market forces. But reaching the target will require government action too, including support for research and development, and modification of the way markets work, in order to account for the negative effects of burning fossil fuels.

"The energy transition we need now for climate purposes needs to move much faster," says Adnan Z. Amin, who heads the International Renewable Energy Agency. "We need policy mechanisms."

'We need a plan to save us. We have a short window of time and a huge responsibility.'
MARY ROBINSON, former U.N. special envoy on climate change

1.5°C
Temperature rise at which we will begin to experience the worst effects of climate change; we have already hit 1°C

70%
Minimum percentage of electricity that needs to be produced from renewable sources by 2050 to meet the target

3.9
MILLION SQ. MI.
Land area recommended for reforestation

THE IPCC REPORT is intended to help spur those policies. Negotiators of the 2015 Paris Agreement included the 1.5°C marker as an ideal target, following a push from developing countries that feared their land could be lost entirely if temperature rise exceeds that level. The IPCC was asked to study the feasibility of the 1.5°C threshold and how it might be achieved.

The new report, released in Seoul, shows we're way off track and that even the commitments made in 2015 by some 190 countries to reduce their greenhouse-gas emissions would allow temperatures to rise around 3°C by 2100.

It hasn't helped that in the wake of the historic Paris Agreement, which at the time seemed to herald a new era of cooperation on climate change, many countries have taken a step back. President Donald Trump has promised to withdraw the U.S. from the Paris Agreement, while action in other countries, including Germany, Australia and Canada, has faced unexpected challenges.

"The world is not achieving the goals under Paris," California Governor Jerry Brown told TIME last month. "It's stalled."

Brown and others have tried to restart those efforts with summits, policy announcements and corporate commitments all designed to put pressure on national governments ahead of this December's U.N. climate conference in Poland, but the challenge remains steep.

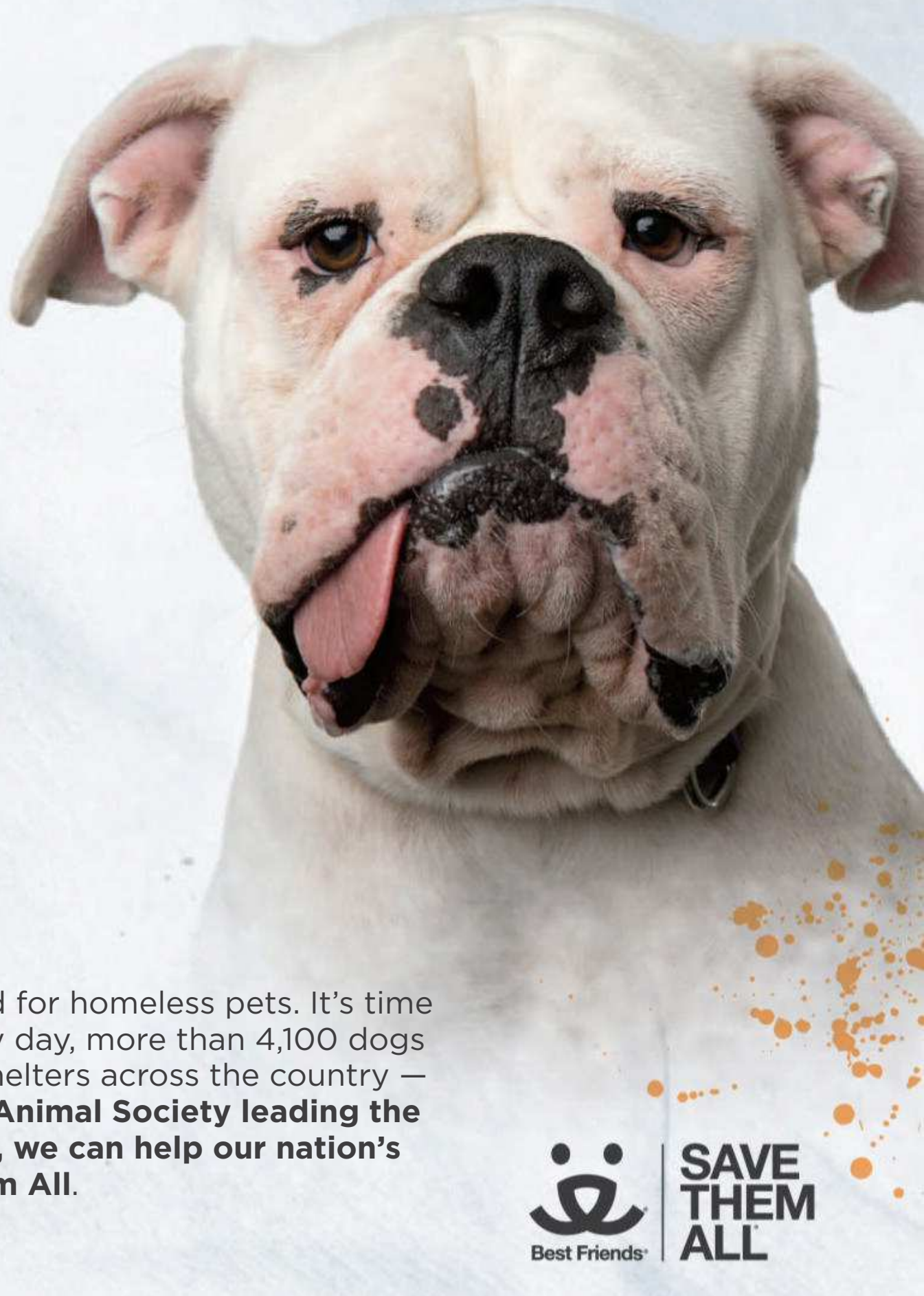
For one thing, politicians are also accountable to citizens, and thus far the vast majority of Americans have yet to prioritize the issue—even though poll after poll shows that a majority of Americans understand that climate change is happening. They just, so far, choose not to do anything about it.

"The question is often 'Do I feel vulnerable?'" says Paul Slovic, a University of Oregon psychologist and the head of Decision Research, a group that studies decisionmaking and risk. "For the most part, we don't, and that shapes our behavior."

As the IPCC report shows, those who aren't yet feeling the effects of climate change will be soon enough. When that happens, psychology suggests, they'll care. But by then the problem will be a lot harder to solve. —*With reporting by* JEFFREY KLUGER/NEW YORK

WE WILL NOT TAKE THIS SITTING DOWN.

UNLESS IT'S FOR TREATS.



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NEWS TICKER

Kim Jong Un asks Pope Francis to visit

North Korean leader **Kim Jong Un has invited Pope Francis to make an unprecedented visit to Pyongyang,** South Korean officials said on Oct. 9. The Vatican holds no formal diplomatic relations with Pyongyang, which bans most religious worship. Kim promised the Pontiff an "ardent welcome."

Trump campaign aide had eye on manipulation

Rick Gates, a top Trump campaign official who is cooperating with the Mueller investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 election, **solicited proposals that year from an Israeli intelligence firm to use social-media manipulation** to defeat political opponents, the New York *Times* reported on Oct. 8.

France honors Nazi-hunting couple

French President Emmanuel Macron **awarded his country's top honors to Europe's most famous Nazi-hunting couple** on Oct. 9. Serge and Beate Klarsfeld, 83 and 79, spent decades pursuing fugitive fascists around the world.

Ezekwesili comforts the mother of a girl kidnapped by Boko Haram in Abuja on Aug. 14, 2016

OLAMIKAN GBEMIGA—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

THE BULLETIN

#BringBackOurGirls crusader shakes up Nigeria's presidential race

IN 2014, OBIAGELI EZEKWESILI CAPTURED the world's attention with #BringBackOurGirls, a campaign to rescue 276 schoolgirls who had been kidnapped in Chibok, Nigeria, by the militant group Boko Haram. In announcing a presidential bid on Oct. 7, the former World Bank official now hopes to upend establishment politics in Africa's most populous country.

AGAINST THE MACHINE Ezekwesili's work for the Chibok girls, half of whom are still missing, has earned her popularity and a reputation as a "dogged" advocate, says Leena Koni Hoffmann, an associate fellow at think tank Chatham House. Short-listed for this year's Nobel Peace Prize for her anticorruption activism, she also appeals to those concerned about graft scandals in the main parties. Between them, the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC) and main opposition People's Democratic Party (PDP) have governed Nigeria since it returned to civilian rule in 1999. Entering the race just months before the vote, Ezekwesili faces an uphill struggle against their machinery.

IT'S THE ECONOMY Ezekwesili wants to lower reliance on oil and, in a country where 60% of the population is under 30, focus on schools instead. "Under my watch, education will be the new oil," she says. It's a big promise: in 2016, under incumbent President Muhammadu Buhari, a fuel-price crash led Nigeria to its first recession in 25 years. Growth is slow, unemployment is at 18.8%—and PDP candidate Atiku Abubakar, a former Vice President and businessman, is emphasizing his job-creation chops.

SECURITY SYSTEM Grand plans for Nigeria's economy, though, must compete for attention with urgent security concerns. Clashes between ethnic groups have killed at least 1,300 in 2018 so far and are likely to continue as climate change drives up competition for farmland. Boko Haram retains a presence in the northeast and in February kidnapped another 110 schoolgirls. Whether voters prefer Ezekwesili's tenacity, or Buhari and Abubadu's experience, the race may come down to who they think can keep Nigeria safe. —CIARA NUGENT

GOOD QUESTION

What makes Nikki Haley's exit from the Trump team different?

IT'S NOT OFTEN THAT A TOP-LEVEL official in Donald Trump's Administration gets away clean and leaves on good terms with the President. When she stepped down Oct. 9 as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Nikki Haley became one of his only senior staff members yet to walk away from the White House with her reputation largely intact.

Since Trump's first weeks in office, the White House has been plagued by high-profile departures of people who were fired or resigned, often after being stung by scandal or caught up in some controversy: National Security Adviser Mike Flynn, FBI Director James Comey and Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, to name a few.

But Haley, who is seen as a stabilizing force within the Administration and a frequent spokesperson on television for the President's foreign policies, left on her own terms with her political credentials preserved. When she announced that she would depart her position by year's end, the decision stunned Washington and the international diplomatic community.

The President's send-off for Haley also differed wildly from the announcements—often abruptly made from Trump's personal Twitter account—that marked previous departures. He held a press conference in the Oval Office and spoke about her in glowing terms, declaring she was "special to me," and even raised the possibility she might rejoin the Administration later "in a different capacity."

Trump said Haley had told him about six months ago that she wanted to take a break from the job. He intends to name her successor within the next two to three weeks. Trump later indicated he had five people on his short list, naming just one: his former Deputy National Security Adviser Dina Powell. He was also asked about his daughter Ivanka's suitability for the position. "I would be accused of nepotism even though I'm not sure there's anyone more competent in the world, but that's O.K.," he said. "But we are looking at numerous people. It is interesting."

Haley told reporters her tenure at the U.N. had been an honor of a lifetime. She also lavished praise on Trump's leadership and foreign policy stances. "Look at what has happened in two years with the United States on foreign policy," she said. "Now the United States is respected. Countries might not like what we do, but they respect what we do."

She made clear there was no "personal reason" for her impending departure except that she thinks government officials should know when it's time to "step aside" and allow someone else in with a fresh perspective. She quieted rumors by declaring she had no intention to run for the presidency in 2020 and—in one more signal that the break was amicable—instead promised to campaign for Trump.

—W.J. HENNIGAN

FINE ART

Art that's crafty

A work by graffiti artist Banksy self-destructed on Oct. 5, just moments after it had sold for nearly $1.4 million at an auction in London. Here, other artistic stunts. —*Precious Adesina*

THE KLEIN BLUES
At the opening of his 1958 exhibition in Paris, artist Yves Klein served special cocktails that turned attendees' urine blue, the color associated with his work. He later patented a hue called International Klein Blue.

INSTAGRAM/REUTERS

BELIEVE TO SEE
In 2014, Canadian radio reported that buyers were snapping up works of "invisible art" for more than $35,000 a pop. The story was supposed to be satire, but lots of listeners were convinced.

A SPECTACLE
Two teenagers made headlines in 2016 when they left a pair of glasses on the floor of the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, only to stand by and watch as visitors gathered to photograph the "exhibit."

NEWS TICKER

Russian spies indicted for hacking

Seven Russian military-intelligence officers were indicted on Oct. 4 by a U.S. federal grand jury on charges related to hacking. From about December 2014 to May 2018, they allegedly targeted groups investigating **Russia's use of chemical weapons and its state-sponsored doping program.**

Marriage vote flops in Romania

A referendum to **reword Romania's constitution to ban same-sex marriage failed** on Oct. 7, after only 20.4% of voters cast ballots—short of the 30% required turnout. Romania does not allow same-sex unions, but the ruling Social Democratic Party wanted to prevent future legislative changes.

Trump to loosen ethanol rules

During a trip to Iowa on Oct. 9, President Trump announced that he will lift restrictions on sales of **gasoline that contains a higher percentage of ethanol,** which the EPA currently bans during the summer because of air-pollution concerns. The news is considered a boon to farm states that want to sell more of the corn-based fuel.

CONVICTED
Jason Van Dyke, a white Chicago police officer, of **second-degree murder, for the 2014 shooting of Laquan McDonald,** a 17-year-old black boy.

DIED
Twenty people in upstate New York, on Oct. 6, when a **limousine crashed into an SUV,** in the U.S.'s deadliest transportation incident since 2009.

INCAPACITATED
The Hubble Space Telescope, after **a gyroscope needed to accurately orient it broke down**, NASA said Oct. 8. The agency expects it to return to work soon.

ANNOUNCED
Plans to **shut down the social network Google+,** by Google, on Oct. 8, after news emerged of a leak of up to 500,000 users' private data.

NAMED
The second Russian blamed for the poisoning in England of Russian ex-spy Sergei Skripal, as **Alexander Mishkin, a military doctor,** by the investigative website Bellingcat, on Oct. 8.

SENTENCED
Jersey Shore star Michael **"the Situation"** Sorrentino, to eight months in prison, for tax fraud.

HIRED
Timothy Loehmann, the white former Cleveland police officer who fatally shot Tamir Rice, a 12-year-old black boy, in 2014, by another police department in Ohio, on Oct. 5. The shooting sparked national protests.

Mukwege talks to a patient during a hospital round on Nov. 2, 2007

AWARDED

Nobel Peace Prize

Denis Mukwege and Nadia Murad

A FEW MINUTES AFTER THE NOBEL COMMITTEE announced on Oct. 5 that Denis Mukwege and Nadia Murad had been awarded the 2018 Nobel Peace Prize, the cheers at Mukwege's hospital in the Democratic Republic of Congo were so loud that it was impossible to hear anyone on the phone. "'Finally.' Everyone is saying 'finally,'" one doctor at the hospital eventually told TIME of the decision to award the prize to the two for their efforts to end the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war and armed conflict.

Mukwege and Murad come at the issue from different places. As a gynecologist, he saw the damage from Congo's brutal civil wars play out on the bodies of women who came to the hospital he built in 1999. She was one of thousands of Yazidi women kidnapped from Sinjar, in northern Iraq, by ISIS militants in August 2014 and auctioned off as a sex slave. Both have used their voices to raise awareness that rape is, as Mukwege often says, one of the most devastating weapons of war.

Mukwege's and Murad's citation comes at a moment of global reckoning over powerful men's behavior in the wake of the #MeToo movement. Sexual violence in conflict may be at the far end of the spectrum of male entitlement, but it shares some of the same silencing effects of stigma and shame. This year's Nobel recognition makes it clear that silence over sexual violence of any kind is no longer acceptable.

—ARYN BAKER

Murad was enslaved by ISIS militants in 2014

MUKWEGE: PER-ANDERS PETTERSSON—GETTY IMAGES; MURAD: FRED R. CONRAD—REDUX

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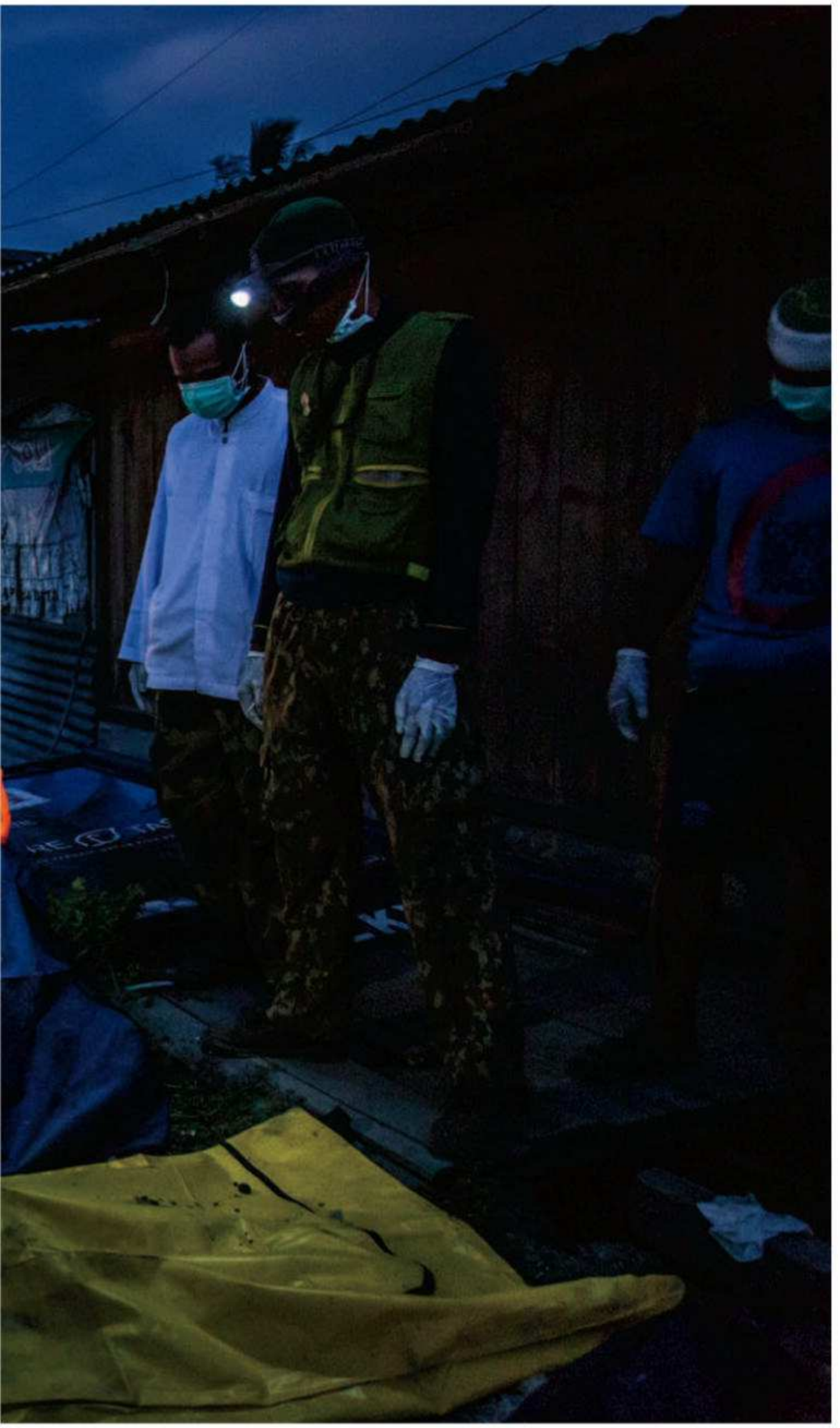

WORLD

Amid the ruins of an Indonesian city, survivors take stock

HOPES OF FINDING ANYONE ALIVE had faded. About two weeks after a 7.5-magnitude earthquake struck the Indonesian island of Sulawesi, search-and-rescue operations were due to end on Oct. 11.

At least 2,010 people have been confirmed dead. About 5,000 others are believed to be buried under rubble or swept out to sea. The missing are likely decomposed beyond recognition. Survivors are left to try and make sense of the cataclysm and wonder what could be done better next time. In the city of Palu, where the quake triggered 20-ft. tidal waves and a phenomenon called liquefaction that consumed entire neighborhoods, the dead have been laid without ceremony in a mass grave. There will soon be at least two more; authorities have said that the worst-hit areas, Balaroa and Petobo, may be designated as cemeteries and never rebuilt.

A little more power is switched on each day. A few food stalls and shops have opened up. But more than 70,000 people are now homeless in this city of about 380,000. While some camp out in clusters of tents, others simply want to leave. Thousands sit outside the mostly defunct airport, hoping for a way out. "I heard people say that it will happen again," Dewi, 30, told TIME. "I decided to leave because someone said there will be another one, a bigger one, and Palu will sink into the mud."

—FELIZ SOLOMON/PALU

A soldier opens a body bag in Balaroa, in the tsunami-struck Indonesian city of Palu, on Oct. 6

PHOTOGRAPH BY ULET IFANSASTI—GETTY IMAGES

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The View

WORLD

AUTOCRATS GROW BOLDER

By Dan Stewart

Jamal Khashoggi wanted to get married. The self-exiled Saudi Arabian journalist walked into his country's consulate in Istanbul on Oct. 2 to obtain the paperwork for his wedding. He has not been seen since. As of Oct. 10, the assumption is that the Saudi regime took the opportunity to silence one of its more prominent critics.

INSIDE

WHAT ANTIFEMINISTS GET WRONG ABOUT ANCIENT LITERATURE

ITALY TESTS THE WILL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

WHEN HUGS ARE— AND AREN'T— HELPFUL

The mystery is how. Turkish authorities, albeit not the most trusted bunch themselves, believe Khashoggi was murdered inside the building by a team of 15 operatives, his corpse dismembered and transported outside in boxes. The Saudis claim he left alive and have pledged to investigate—though few believe a Saudi regime that has long been unafraid to detain or punish dissidents.

Although the murder of a critic on foreign soil would, if confirmed, be an unprecedented act even for a brutal kingdom, it fits within a larger pattern. Across the world, authoritarian countries like Saudi Arabia have developed a rising sense of impunity when it comes to human rights and the rule of international law. Behavior once hidden behind palace doors now happens beyond borders and in the full view of the world.

Take China. Aside from the legion of human-rights abuses committed inside its borders, including the detention of 1 million Uighurs, Beijing arrested Meng Hongwei, who as head of Interpol was a symbol of the international rule of law. Both have been ensnared by an antigraft campaign that President Xi Jinping and his regime have used to target critics and rivals. Russia too has taken its crackdown on dissenters global, most recently with the brazen poisoning attempt on former double agent Sergei Skripal in the U.K.

Khashoggi speaks in London three days before his disappearance

This is happening with the implicit acceptance of the U.S., which under President Donald Trump has rejected its role as a champion of universal values like human rights. The White House, which has forged close personal and economic ties with Saudi leaders, issued a statement almost a whole week after Khashoggi's disappearance—and only to limply urge a transparent investigation. "I don't like hearing about it, and hopefully that will sort itself out," Trump said.

But Trump is only one facet of this diminution of the U.S. as a moral lodestar for the world. Just as important is the hollowing-out of the State Department and the White House's refusal to fill key posts across the diplomatic corps. Although it appears Secretary of State Mike Pompeo is trying to fix this, over 52% of top department positions were unfilled as of July. The U.S. still has no ambassadors in Saudi Arabia, Turkey or Egypt. Around the world, back channels built up over decades, through which pressure has been quietly yet rigorously applied, have run dry. A century of moral diplomacy begun by Woodrow Wilson is coming to an end under Trump.

THE PRESIDENT'S DEFENDERS may question why it's America's responsibility to confront human-rights abusers. It's because few others have the weight of authority or the sheer economic might to do it. When Canada dared to criticize Saudi Arabia over its human-rights record in August, the kingdom angrily stalled investment deals and yanked diplomats from Ottawa. The Saudis would be unlikely to risk a similar response if its benefactor the U.S. were to speak up.

The U.S. Congress may yet do so. And if Khashoggi's murder can be confirmed, economic sanctions will likely follow. But defending and spreading liberal values requires a more patient approach than crude dollar diplomacy.

Besides, these kinds of punitive measures have done little to curb similar behavior elsewhere. For all that the sanctions on Russia have slowed its economy, they have not prevented its extranational hacking activity. On Oct. 4, fresh evidence emerged of attempts by Russia's secret services to hack the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, antidoping agencies and even the investigation into the Malaysia Airlines flight downed over Ukraine in 2014.

Worryingly, this trend toward impunity comes as voters worldwide seem more attracted to strongmen and dictators. In Brazil on Oct. 7, a far-right demagogue, Jair Bolsonaro, who is openly nostalgic for the country's military dictatorship, won the first-round election by a huge margin. If he succeeds in a runoff vote, who is poised to stop him if he tries to return Brazil to an era when abusing citizens was woven into the fabric of the state? Not the U.S., for one. ◻

SHORT READS

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

Sanctuary for a soccer star

European sports and legal systems may protect Cristiano Ronaldo against a resurfaced rape allegation—which he denies—writes Michael Caley, co-host of the podcast *The Double Pivot.* He explains that **leagues there have far less power over their teams** than American ones do and that regional defamation laws often give greater power to public figures.

Enemies of the earth

"I am alarmed and disappointed at **the inadequate pace of progress, especially by the major polluting economies,"** writes Ban Ki-moon, former Secretary-General of the United Nations, after a report found that nations were failing to prevent climate change as promised.

The long arc of misogyny

Donna Zuckerberg, author of the new book *Not All Dead White Men,* found that **men who feel society is set up to privilege women** often look to classical texts for backup. She was surprised by "how wide-ranging they're willing to be … to look for ideas that will support their views."

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THE RISK REPORT

Italy puts itself on a collision course with the E.U. leadership

By Ian Bremmer

POPULIST POLITICAL parties have made big gains in a number of European countries in recent years, but Italy is the first large euro-zone economy where a government openly hostile to the E.U. has taken charge. The coalition in power there, the Five Star Movement (5SM) and the League, is in office at least in part because it's willing to blame Brussels for many of the country's current problems. The latest face-off is over the content of Italy's national budget.

The European Commission, the executive body of the E.U., wants Italy to keep its debt under control as part of fiscal rules governing every country that uses the euro. The Italian government wants a looser budget because 5SM wants to spend money on a "guaranteed basic income" scheme popular in Italy's poorer southern provinces, and the League—led by powerful Deputy Prime Minister Matteo Salvini—wants to give wealthier northern supporters a tax cut. Italy's national debt is already 131% of GDP, the second highest level in the euro zone after Greece. But unlike those in Greece, Italy's banks are "too big to bail."

In many ways, Italy's government poses a more dangerous problem for Europe than Brexit does. The E.U. and U.K. have incentives to work toward a deal—though both have good reasons to want to take their time getting there. By contrast, Italy's government and Salvini in particular gain an advantage at home by fighting with the E.U. whenever possible.

This fight is heating up. On Oct. 2, the Italian government doubled down on a budget that would raise its deficit target so it can spend more money over the next three years, and European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker responded with pointed criticism. The result? Investors grew more concerned that Italy is on an unsustainable financial path. The spread between Italy's benchmark bonds and their German equivalent surged, making it more expensive for Italy to borrow money. Salvini then threatened to seek damages "from those who want to harm Italy."

The European Commission leadership can't agree on how hard to push the Italian government. The confusion is understandable. If it tries to "veto" the budget by asking Italy to submit a new one, it plays directly into the hands of Salvini, a man who has built a growing political reputation as defender of his country's interests against the alleged bureaucratic bullying of E.U. officials. A sharp response from Brussels would also help Salvini make the case on behalf of the anti-E.U. coalition running in European Parliament elections in 2019.

This isn't just a fight about money. It's a test of whether a populist government can defy the rules that hold Europe together

But if the E.U.'s executive isn't firm with Italy, it will signal that it lacks the strength and will to enforce euro-zone rules encouraging responsible state spending. That, in turn, would feed suspicions across Europe, particularly in the continent's economic engine of Germany, that taxpayers in one country should no longer pay into plans that can be used to bail out governments of other countries that refuse to approve responsible budgets.

The two sides are now heading toward their most serious confrontation yet. The European Commission may well insist, for the first time in its history, that Italy submit a new budget. Salvini's criticism and threats have only made that more likely. If so, the Italian government may decide to simply ignore the request from Brussels or even to explicitly say no.

This isn't just a fight about money. It's a test of whether a populist government can successfully defy the rules that hold Europe together. If it can, we'll learn more about the credibility and future of the E.U. and its structures than we have at any point before. ◻

KHASHOGGI: MIDDLE EAST MONITOR/REUTERS; ILLUSTRATIONS BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

POINT/COUNTERPOINT

Embracing hugs

It can be hard to know how best to show someone you care, with words and actions. Here we offer the arguments surrounding one common option—a hug—according to the latest science.

The case for:

Hugs put a range of health benefits within arm's reach. Research suggests they boost levels of the bonding hormone oxytocin and feelings of social support—perks that may lead to less stress, a stronger immune system and even lower blood pressure. And it's a form of wellness you can share, especially when someone is hurting: a newly published *PLOS One* study found that people experiencing relationship problems reported an improved mood if they received a hug on the day of the conflict.

—Jamie Ducharme

The case against:

Hugs are not warm and fuzzy for everyone, though. Some people find them disconcerting. Research has attributed this to the way people were raised, their self-esteem or cultural norms. Even the Emily Post Institute recommends skipping hugs to avoid making someone uncomfortable, at least in business settings. So the next time you run into someone, the kindest move may be to opt for a handshake instead or to at least make sure you understand the person and the situation before you literally reach out.

—Elizabeth Murray

How female leaders are facing the toughest challenges of 2018

By Lucy Feldman

Influential women from diverse fields recently gathered at this year's *Fortune* Most Powerful Women Summit in California. They discussed many of the most pressing issues of 2018, including sexual harassment, advances in tech, the importance of female representation on corporate boards and the mental health of those serving in our armed forces. Here, six of the most poignant moments.

Tricia Griffith

CEO OF PROGRESSIVE

California's recent move to require publicly traded corporations within the state to include women on their boards proved controversial among business leaders. Griffith proposed choosing board members from within a given company, looking for women "hard at work in operating roles that have a lot of value"—rather than the more traditional route of tapping ex-CEOs from outside, who would not be as familiar with how the company works.

Jane Lauder

GLOBAL BRAND PRESIDENT OF CLINIQUE

Millennials are changing the luxury market. Lauder pointed to the trend of social-media influencers' determining what's desirable—and noted the importance of businesses' embracing that trend. "When you see a person on YouTube putting on makeup in their bathroom, you feel a personal connection," Lauder said, adding that she thinks influencers are here to stay. "It makes it more challenging for us, but it definitely also makes it more interesting."

Robbie Kaplan

Karen Dunn

Robbie Kaplan and Karen Dunn

CHARLOTTESVILLE LITIGATORS

Kaplan and Dunn, partners at different law firms, are working together to represent a dozen individuals injured at the 2017 Charlottesville, Va., protests. Their lawsuit names multiple defendants, including James Alex Fields Jr., who is accused of driving

KAPLAN, DUNN, HILL: PHILLIP FARAONE—FORTUNE/GETTY IMAGES; WEST: JEROD HARRIS—FORTUNE/GETTY IMAGES

Lieut. General Nadja West discusses her rise through the ranks of the U.S. Army at the Most Powerful Women summit

a car into counterprotesters, killing Heather Heyer. Marcus Martin, who famously shoved his fiancée out of the path of the car, is a client. Dunn and Kaplan described attacks they've faced in response to their work—in Kaplan's case, homophobia and anti-Semitism—and how they're pushing forward in spite of threats. "There's no settlement to be had," Dunn said. "What sort of settlement can you imagine would be had with the white supremacists who delivered such violence?"

Anita Hill

Lieut. General Nadja West

SURGEON GENERAL OF THE U.S. ARMY

In response to a question about how the military is working to aid veterans who suffer from posttraumatic stress disorder, West described how the Army embeds behavioral-health specialists within units to create a more comfortable and immediate means of talking through trauma. She also called for eliminating the stigma associated with the disorder. "We've had senior leaders—four-star generals, retired—who came out and said, 'Look, I had posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms. I got help, and you should too,'" West said, adding that civilians should also recognize that most cases of PTSD are treatable.

Anita Hill

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR

Hill took the stage as the nation fervently debated the sexual-assault allegations against now Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh. Twenty-seven years ago, Hill, like Kavanaugh accuser Christine Blasey Ford this year, levied allegations against a Supreme Court nominee (now Justice Clarence Thomas). She applauded the strength of women, saying, "We want to believe that Christine Blasey Ford can survive, that I survived, and that each of us will survive this time and any of the indignities that we have experienced."

Aicha Evans

CHIEF STRATEGY OFFICER OF INTEL

Evans spoke frankly, along with leaders from Amazon and IBM, about the promise—and possible risks—of artificial intelligence. "To be totally transparent, we are every day wrestling with how we deal with this thing," Evans said. She asserted that in developing potentially world-altering tech, it's important to keep issues like privacy, safety and ethics in mind. "We need to be very responsible," she said. ☐

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BEYOND THE BASE

Donald Trump's coalition is broader than the Democrats' caricature

By BRIAN BENNETT/WHEELING, W.VA. and JUSTIN WORLAND/TARKIO, MO.

PHOTOGRAPH BY TOM BRENNER

Trump arrives onstage at a rally in Nashville on May 29

BLAKE HURST HAS MIXED FEELINGS about his new combine. Sitting 10 feet off the ground in the cab of the half-million-dollar piece of equipment, Hurst proudly points out its cutting-edge bells and whistles, including a GPS monitor that helps track the yield of his farm crops, and remote monitoring that lets him check in on the machinery when members of his family operate it.

But Hurst, dressed in overalls, a red baseball cap and a T-shirt decorated with guns and ammo, believes President Donald Trump has made the harvester a risky investment. Since he bought the machine last fall, Hurst, who farms corn and soybeans, has watched Trump launch a trade war that has hurt the fortunes of farmers like him and changed the outlook for an industry reliant on global markets. More than 70% of farmers say they expect a decline in income of 10% or more next year as a result of the trade tensions, per a Purdue University/CME Group report.

And yet at the Hurst family farm a few miles outside Tarkio, Mo., on this late August day, three generations are sticking with Trump and the Republican Party.

To explain why, Hurst, who also advocates for farmers as the head of the Missouri Farm Bureau, points to the temperature-controlled bins they use for storing unsold crops. He's thankful Trump nixed the Clean Power Plan, one of President Obama's most significant climate-change initiatives that could have spiked rural energy prices and driven up the cost of holding their crops for market. He mentions Trump's impending reversal of the Waters of the U.S. rule, an Obama-era regulation, that farmers feared could have given the federal government authority over the small streams on land in the region. And there are other issues on their mind: infrastructure funding and how the government regulates pesticides, for example.

Trade is important for farmers, Hurst says, but they are sophisticated thinkers who can hold two seemingly conflicting views of Trump at the same time. "I don't like everything my wife does," he says, "but I still love her."

Trump's strong support in the rural heartland offers a window into his resilience among Republican voters across the country. It's not just farmers who are weighing the pros and cons of Trump's controversial presidency and coming down on his side. The business community nationwide hates tariffs but finds plenty to like in the December 2017 tax law, which cut individual and corporate rates. Some suburban Republicans can't stand Trump's bombastic style but find smug, knee-jerk liberals even worse. As long as he's owning the opposition and shaking up Washington, they're with him.

Brick by brick, Trump has raised a wall of Republican supporters that in many ways defies the image of white male resentment that some Democrats like to project. Many of them are affluent and well-educated, and nearly half—47%—are women. Trump won 44% of voters whose family income is $150,000 or more per year and nearly 40% of college-educated white voters overall.

The result, Trump claims, is a sturdier Republican Party. "The party is a much bigger party now, and it's like really a party for the working men and women in this country, in addition to plenty of others," Trump told TIME in a call from Air Force One on his way to an Oct. 10 rally in Erie, Pa. "In the true sense, it has been changed, and I think that's why I won an election nobody else would have won. If you look at the places I've won, nobody else would have won those places."

In fact, there are fewer self-identified Republicans now than when Trump secured the GOP nomination. And how solid Trump's wall of support really is remains perhaps the most important question for the future of American politics. Trump's base are true believers: an early-August Pew poll found nearly 60% of self-identified Trump voters had backed him enthusiastically since the raucous Republican primaries in early 2016, while another 23% are former skeptics whom Trump has since won over. But the same poll found millions of Trump voters who share a sentiment rarely captured in media sketches: ambivalence. Though his job-approval numbers among Republicans, which hover in the mid-80s, are in line with what Ronald Reagan achieved, a deeper look shows a more textured picture: 18% told Pew they would give Trump a grade of 50 or less, up from 13% at the time of his election.

What these figures show is that Trump's support is durable but more dynamic than most realize. There are millions of conventional Republicans of all stripes who are continuously assessing, as Hurst does, the benefits and drawbacks of two years of disruption. That helps explain the reason why many Representatives on Capitol Hill have engaged in running battles with the President. It also explains why so many in the party have embraced Brett Kavanaugh's Supreme Court nomination as a uniting factor that may have saved the Senate for the GOP and improved Republicans' chances of staving off huge losses in the House.

Trump himself has pitched the midterm vote as a verdict on his leadership. But there is even more at stake. The Nov. 6 elections will test the strength of Trump's hold on the party and show just how last-

'I don't like everything my wife does, but I still love her.'

BLAKE HURST,
left, on how he views the Trump presidency

WHAT TRUMP VOTERS THINK

65%
Expressed positive feelings about Trump in April 2016; since then, only 6% of those voters have soured on him

23%
Had cold or neutral feelings about Trump initially but warmed to him during his presidency; these voters continue to support Trump today

12%
Had negative feelings about Trump before his nomination, warmed to him during the general election but have gone back to viewing him negatively

ing an imprint his unique mix of populism and nationalism will make on the GOP—and America—for years to come.

INSIDE A DEAFENING hockey stadium in Wheeling, W.Va., a cranked-up sound system blared John Denver as Trump walked out to the lectern, swaying his arms to the music and basking in the cheers. During his Sept. 30 speech, the boisterous crowd chanted "Build the wall" when he brought up immigration and "Lock her up" when he mentioned Hillary Clinton.

It's not hard to find Trump's most avid supporters at rallies like this. Many in the crowd worked in the steel and agricultural industries in West Virginia and believe Trump's actions have improved the economy. "He's a man of action," says Timothy Pesta, 61, who works for a steel company and grows corn and wheat on a family farm. Pesta, who has seen his fortunes rise in the past year, says he understands why Trump evokes such a polarizing response around the country. "People aren't used to that kind of radical change."

Including many Trump supporters. At a Dauphin County Republican Party get-out-the-vote rally in suburban Harrisburg, Pa., on Oct. 6, state representative Sue Helm says she doesn't always see eye to eye with Trump. For starters, the retired realtor would like more regulation of her former industry, a position at odds with the President's deregulatory push. But she says Trump has earned Republican support. "People are starting to realize he is doing good," she says as she passes out yard signs for her re-election bid. "He wasn't a politician, and it takes a while to get his momentum."

The financial elite have similarly come around despite their reservations about Trump's style. One-third of Trump's supporters during the presidential election were affluent, according to a March 2016 NBC News/SurveyMonkey tracking poll, with incomes above $100,000. When Trump was elected, many well-to-do Americans worried his volatility would roil financial markets.

Two years on, the economic picture for top earners is bright. The S&P 500 hit record highs in late August. GDP bumped up at an annual rate of 4.2% in the second quarter of this year. Unemployment is at its lowest since 1969. Jonathan Corpina, who manages sales and trading at Meridian Equity Partners in New York City, doesn't like the "bantering" and "division" he's seen Trump unleash across the country. "But when I take a step back and I look at where are we today, as compared to a month ago, a quarter ago, a year ago, five years ago," he says, "the numbers support that our economy is stronger." Despite the President's attacks on individual companies and his spats with world leaders, many on Wall Street laud the Administration's deregulation efforts and have benefited from the Republicans' tax overhaul. Even some people who were not already wealthy have been gratified by wage increases and a generally stable economy. In a recent Washington *Post*–Schar School poll of voters in battleground districts, 77% of respondents described the nation's economy as "good" or "excellent."

That's a big reason the Republican donor class, once almost universally opposed to Trump's candidacy, has in large part come to support him. GOP donors don't agree with everything he does and think many of his comments and tweets

PREVIOUS SPREAD: THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; THIS SPREAD: BARRETT EMKE FOR TIME

POLL SOURCE: PEW RESEARCH CENTER. NOTE: POLLING REFLECTS TRUMP VOTERS' ATTITUDES IN APRIL 2016, BEFORE HIS NOMINATION, COMPARED WITH THEIR ATTITUDES IN MARCH 2018

are self-imposed setbacks. But they have gotten what they wanted on key issues, including tax cuts, judicial nominations and the Administration's tough stance against Iran and on behalf of Israel. "Style-wise, I wish for Obama: more cerebral and respectful," says Dan Eberhart, an Arizona Republican donor who backed Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker in the 2016 presidential primary. But "donors focus on what he does, not on what he says," he explains. "The President may be unorthodox, but he's delivered on his campaign promises."

Thrice married, twice divorced and caught on tape bragging about grabbing women by the genitals, Trump is an unlikely champion for the Christian Right. But in 2016, 80% of white evangelicals voted for Trump, according to exit polls. Revelations surrounding the President's personal involvement in paying off porn star Stormy Daniels, with whom he allegedly had an affair, may have strained their patience. But those fumbles were not enough, many evangelicals say, to overshadow his effective execution of their long-standing agenda. Trump has moved the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and repeatedly elevated antiabortion advocacy on the national stage, two of the community's top priorities. Nearly two years after his election, his popularity remains sturdy with white evangelicals: 71% approve of the job Trump is doing, according to a Public Religion Research Institute poll conducted in late August and early September.

Nothing endeared Trump to evangelicals, and Republicans generally, more than his appointment of two conservative Supreme Court Justices. "We say we have three co-equal branches of government, but we know that's not really true," Dallas evangelical pastor Robert Jeffress tells TIME. "The judiciary is by far the most powerful branch of society, and that is why evangelicals have been so intent on changing the makeup of the court."

JUST AS TRUMP has won over and kept ambivalent Republican voters, his efforts to make peace with the party leadership and advance a unified agenda in Washington has been a work in progress. It is no coincidence that his battles with congressional Republicans have reflected the same conflicting interests that voters have had to balance these past two years.

TRUMP'S DIVIDING LINES

43%

Trump's overall approval rating, which is similar to those of Presidents Obama, Clinton and Reagan at this point in their terms

86%

Republicans who approve of Trump's performance, near his high of 90%; his lowest rating was 77% in December 2017

39%

Independents who approve of Trump; he has 7% approval among Democrats

Trump was in many ways a nightmare for GOP leaders from the start. For generations, the party has tried to reconcile its isolationist, nativist bloc with its internationalist, pro-market establishment. Decades of careful political management had maintained an uneasy peace between competing interests, with the elites offering their working-class brethren socially conservative policies in exchange for support of pro-wealthy economic programs.

Trump seemed ready to blow that up. He embraced protectionism, eschewed pro-business immigration policies and abandoned attempts to broaden the party's base. Where past GOP leaders carefully discussed issues of race, shifting gender dynamics or Muslim immigrants, editing their language to avoid prejudice, Trump was willing and sometimes eager to fan the flames of cultural division both at home and abroad.

Once elected, Trump seemed to intuit that long-term success required some collaboration. When top advisers Stephen Bannon and Stephen Miller wrote a fiery election-night speech that took aim at the Republican establishment, Trump balked, choosing instead to deliver a more conciliatory version. He hired established GOP operatives into his White House and agreed to spend his political capital on conservative legislative priorities, like the repeal of the Affordable Care Act, rather than the infrastructure plan the President preferred.

The marriage has not been easy. His surprise decision to bar travelers from several Muslim-majority countries may have pleased his hard-line base, but it infuriated Republicans who need the votes of minorities and civil libertarians and found the notion antithetical to American ideals. His decision to fire FBI Director James Comey and to attack his own Justice Department over its investigation of Russia's influence operation against the 2016 election drove a wedge between law-and-order Republicans and antiestablishment activists.

Over time, Trump has become more aggressive and incendiary, leaving the GOP standard bearers, Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell and House Speaker Paul Ryan, the difficult task of managing the divisions. McConnell and Ryan have been forced to watch as Trump assailed GOP free-market principles with tariffs, drove away longtime allies, accommodated Russian President Vladimir Putin and repeatedly rained down distractions on lawmaking with his scandals and inflammatory statements.

But the concessions have not come without reward. With Trump, Republican leaders have been able to fulfill a decades-long project to remake the federal judiciary in a conservative mold, deliver deep corporate tax cuts and strip away banking and environmental regulations. The past few weeks have shown that when the union works, it can be powerful. The brutal battle over Kavanaugh, who faced allegations of teenage sexual assault, brought together all the factions of the GOP. Traditional Republicans like Kavanaugh's pro-business, country-club conservatism. Evangelicals see a fifth vote to overturn *Roe v. Wade* or at least constrain abortion rights. And Trump's base relished the fight. "The Kavanaugh process has ticked a lot of people off," Brian Zook, a construction project manager, explains at an Oktoberfest celebration in Carlisle, Pa. As a difficult midterm election draws closer, Republicans appear energized.

THAT VOTE will tell America a lot about how sturdy the union between the President and his party really is. History is on the Democrats' side: the party holding the presidency loses an average of 40 House

POLL SOURCE: GALLUP OCT. 1–7, 2018

Trump retains strong support among evangelicals, like the congregants of this Baptist church in Luverne, Ala.

MICHAEL S. WILLIAMSON—THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES

seats and five Senate seats in the first midterm on average when the President's job approval is below 50%. And Democrats, already building a wave of support among women after 2016, are hoping the fight over Kavanaugh's nomination and his ascension to the court will turn one or both chambers of Congress blue. Trump, who knows the midterms will be viewed as a referendum on his leadership, has issued ominous warnings about the stakes. "You're one election away from losing everything you've got," Trump told evangelical leaders at a White House dinner in late August.

Which is why Trump is working closely with the Republican National Committee (RNC) and plans to travel extensively in coming weeks to boost GOP candidates. An endorsement from Trump is "worth its weight in gold," says Republican pollster Frank Luntz. At every rally, attendees' RSVP information is logged by the RNC and Trump's re-election operation, and locals are contacted by organizers and recruited to help build turnout in their neighborhood. "We see a huge influx of new people coming into our program every time the President holds a rally," says RNC political director Juston Johnson. At Trump's Wheeling rally in late September, for example, the RNC collected information from 8,400 RSVPs. More than one-third were registered Democrats or independents, according to figures provided to TIME by the RNC.

At his rallies, Trump is eager to jump into divisive cultural issues, like NFL players' kneeling during the national anthem to protest racial injustice. To critics, coded rhetoric like this represents a dangerous attempt to stir supporters by awakening barely dormant racial animosity across the country. "With something like Charlottesville, he appeals to the fringe," says Lynn Vavreck, a political scientist at UCLA and co-author of *Identity Crisis,* a new book about the 2016 election, "but also to these mainstream Midwestern white Americans who really do have the feeling they're being left behind and neglected." For liberals, Trump's appeal to racial divisions proves the Republican Party has long been a vehicle for the maintenance of social and economic hierarchies and the denial of women's and minorities' full equality.

Trump says there's a method behind his often harsh rhetoric. On foreign trade, for example, he says he has to talk tough. "If I don't talk that way, I'm never going to get the point across and I'm never going to be able to make the deal," Trump tells TIME. "I can say it nicely or I can say it less than nicely. The bottom line is a lot of people agree with me. Oftentimes, you can't be overly nice. Look, our politicians have been nice for many years, for decades. And look what's happened."

Will the uneasy marriage of ardent believers and pragmatic loyalists last beyond Trump? The President's biggest fans say his unusual blend of populist and nationalist rhetoric has changed the party forever. "Trump's legacy is that he reforms the Republican Party into a party for the 21st century," Bannon tells TIME. "He brought in people like working-class Democrats and the working class. Mitch McConnell, Paul Ryan and the Kochs are going to be forgotten."

If the past few years were a war for control of the GOP, the guns have gone silent now. "The battle is over," Luntz says. "And Trump has won." But long after Trump leaves the scene, the voters who propelled him to power will remain. That includes those who view Trump with ambivalence. And where they end up is likely to have more to do with his effect on their day-to-day lives than the drama that drives debates in the halls of Washington and on cable TV.

On Oct. 9, Trump held a rally in Council Bluffs, Iowa, touting his recently delivered increase in federal support for ethanol. Traditional Republicans have long decried government handouts, like the $12 billion the Trump Administration announced in July to give to farmers battered by the President's trade policies. After all, when Democrats propose bailouts, Republicans call them socialists. But such unorthodox tactics are one crucial way Trump is staying in good graces with the constituency his tariffs are hurting. And for now, it's working. "They make promises, and you hold them to their promises," says Greg Olsen, general manager of an ethanol plant in Corning, Iowa.

Trump doesn't need to look far back in time to see what happens if he doesn't. American farmers had a long history of supporting Democrats until President Jimmy Carter imposed sanctions on the Soviet Union that killed demand for their products and launched a rural recession. In response, farmers switched their parties. The parallel is so clear that farmer after farmer in the Midwest still mentions it. "Rural America has supported the President and continues to overall," says Ray Gaesser, a corn and soybean farmer in Corning. "As you have more and more financial pressure, that might change." —*With reporting by* ABIGAIL ABRAMS *and* HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS/NEW YORK; PHILIP ELLIOTT/HARRISBURG, PA.; *and* ALANA ABRAMSON, MOLLY BALL, RYAN TEAGUE BECKWITH, TESSA BERENSON *and* ABBY VESOULIS/WASHINGTON ◻

TRUMP'S THOUGHT LEADERS

A new generation of conservatives says economic populism is the future

By SAM TANENHAUS

ON SEPT. 27, AS MORE THAN 20 MILLION Americans were glued to the testimonies of Christine Blasey Ford and Brett Kavanaugh, the mayors of 43 cities—Democrats and Republicans—gathered in a Hilton hotel in Columbia, S.C., for something far less dramatic but possibly even more important. It was a weekend-long session devoted to things politicians and policymakers say they care about but do very little to fix: infrastructure, homelessness and economic renewal. One of the speakers was a 36-year-old "policy entrepreneur" named John Lettieri, a co-founder (together with Sean Parker, of Napster and Facebook fortune and fame, and Steve Glickman, an economic adviser to President Obama) of the Economic Innovation Group. Created in 2013, the group predated the election of Donald Trump. Yet it has become a major player in what could be the next phase of the Trump revolution—one that reaches beyond the President in ways that might change the country for decades after he's left office.

It begins with the story Lettieri tells about the two parties, at war in so many ways but alike in the mistakes they keep repeating, especially when it comes to the economy. Consider, he says, the seductive but misleading attraction of employment data. On Oct. 5 the Labor Department reported the economy had added 134,000 new jobs in September and the unemployment rate had plunged to 3.7%, the lowest since 1969. That sounds like good news, but for many jobs there's a shortage of qualified candidates, which hints at something else—the steady degrading of skills and the country's failure to adjust to the demands of new technology and overseas competition.

Lettieri is a key figure in a band of intellectuals working to build the intellectual scaffolding to support Trump's movement long after he leaves power. Too few in number to form a movement, they're also young and as yet not

PHOTOGRAPH BY TRACIE VAN AUKEN

MAKE
BUY
WOMEN
PROMISES
DRAIN
KEEP
TRUMP

well known, though some wield surprising influence. One reason is they have big ideas. Another is that they have taken a key lesson of Trump's rise—the rhetoric of economic populism—and are trying to do the unthinkable: turn the President's impulses into a constructive, long-term effort to reform the American economy. They count among them economists, law-school grads, magazine editors and former Tea Party activists.

Dispersed throughout Washington, clustered in Senate offices—on the staffs of Marco Rubio and Mike Lee, among others—and congregating at think tanks and in small journals, these insurgents are starting to find a warm welcome from a rising class of party voices, including Senators Tom Cotton, Ben Sasse and Tim Scott. They point as well to 34-year-old Representative Mike Gallagher from Green Bay, Wis., a Princeton graduate and former Marine captain who was elected in the Trump wave and promptly joined the leadership of the bipartisan Problem Solvers Caucus.

They've already pushed through a child tax credit that gives money back to American families. Some of them worked with Ivanka Trump on a paid-family-leave plan. And they even slipped new economic-opportunity zones to promote investment in distressed areas into the much derided 2017 tax bill. All these wonky-sounding ideas cut across traditional party lines—and some members of the group even say they're willing to work with Democrats when it comes to things like infrastructure. They have even more ambitious plans to revamp conservative ideas into a new and more humane American right. If they succeed, it may mean the end of the Reagan economic consensus.

These intellectuals are committed to a new economic nationalism no matter what happens to Trump, even if Robert Mueller's report prompts impeachment proceedings or the President burns out on scandals in 2020. They're looking past Trump, beyond his nativist rhetoric and Twitter rants, to assert a fundamental truth: whatever you think of him, Donald Trump has shown a major failing in the way America's political parties have been serving their constituents. The future of Trump's revolution may depend on whether this young group can help fix the economy.

More than a decade after the subprime-mortgage crisis, which triggered the Great Recession, many of those hit worst are still struggling. The recovery of the Obama years was oversold, and his presidency confirmed for many that the main constituency for both parties, Democrats as well as Republicans is Wall Street. There is much talk of "identity" politics today, but it remains impolite—unless you're Stephen Bannon or Bernie Sanders—to talk about who, exactly, is falling behind. "Whites, who account for 78% of the labor force, lost more than 700,000 net jobs over the nine years" of the Obama years, the New York *Times'* Eduardo Porter pointed out shortly after the 2016 election. "Whites ages 25 to 54 lost some 6.5 million jobs more than they gained over the period. Hispanics in their prime, by contrast, gained some 3 million jobs net, Asians 1.5 million and blacks 1 million."

It's not just about race. It's also about geography. "National numbers are less indicative of local realities than any time in our history," says Lettieri. The trouble is coming in places where elites tend not to look. Lettieri points to ignored "distressed" regions in the South and Appalachia, not to mention the 209 counties that voted twice for Obama and then voted for Trump. They are not only pins stuck in an electoral map. America's deepening divide begins in overlooked sources of injury and grief. Look away from the coasts, away from the enclaves of wealth, and observe the absence of the labor market "churn" that acts, he says, "as a kind of shock absorber in times of economic trauma." Especially for those at the bottom.

'Is the American Dream alive or dead? My response: What ZIP code are we talking about? That's what says most about whether you have a shot.'

JOHN LETTIERI,
co-founder of the Economic Innovation Group

All this is prelude to a message of hope. Lettieri travels the country bringing news of $6 trillion in untapped capital and the economic-opportunity zones, one of the few innovative ideas in the 2017 tax bill. The designations allow companies to avoid paying capital gains taxes if they invest or hire in 8,700 opportunity zones across 50 states.

"IS THE AMERICAN DREAM alive or dead?" asks Lettieri, who was a foreign policy aide to former Senator Chuck Hagel. "My response: What ZIP code are we talking about? That's what says most about whether you have a shot at the American Dream. It's a lottery of birth." For years, he adds, the problem was "just not being addressed by institutional

establishment Washington in either party." With honest talk like this, Lettieri and company are not afraid of taking on their party's home truths: "The typical Republican," one 20-something Hill staffer scoffs, "turns the culture war up to notch 11 to cover up zombie supply-side policy."

The new wave right is cresting in conservative media too. Not on Fox News or talk radio, but in idea and argument hatcheries. You can find its often erudite commentary in the *American Conservative* and *Modern Age,* the surprising left-right combinations thrown by the *National Interest,* in the almost wickedly contrarian *American Affairs* and on the website American Greatness. Some in the new cohort are devout Trumpists, some are skeptics, and a few are card-carrying Never Trumpers. All might be termed post-Trumpists, starting from the premise that the forces Trump loosed are here to stay—though not all of them, they hope. Some of the ugliest features are already fading. Remember Richard Spencer, with his 1930s-style "fashy" haircut, his "Hail Trump"? We haven't heard the last of "alt-right" bigotry, but Trump's nativism, his attacks on allied countries and his confusion on trade don't distract post-Trumpists.

What these millennial conservatives emphasize is the distilled lessons of the 2016 election. Primarily: globalization really has led to a system rigged against blue collar workers as they watch factories close and jobs shipped overseas. "Trump's message resonates because it should resonate," says Lettieri.

Free trade, too, has come at a cost. "What if China sends $50 billion worth of electronics to the United States and we send $50 billion worth of U.S. Treasury bonds back to China?" asks a new book, *The Once and Future Worker.* Its author, Oren Cass, has one of the sharpest policy minds in this new vanguard. His pedigree is surprising. In 2012, the year he graduated from Harvard Law School, he was a top policy adviser for Mitt Romney at age 29. He now writes for the Manhattan Institute. "The issue that came up after the 2012 campaign was, What does conservative antipoverty policy look like?" Cass says. He sees Trump as a "cultural marker" and allows that "the problems he put the table were constructive."

'The issue that came up after the 2012 campaign was, What does conservative antipoverty policy look like?'

OREN CASS,
author of *The Once and Future Worker*

An elder in the group is David Azerrad, a 40-year-old Montrealer with a Ph.D. in politics who teaches at American University and runs an idea shop at the Heritage Foundation, the most Trump-leaning of think tanks. Azerrad differs from others in this group in being heartily pro-Trump. It's a point of contention with some others. He recently "hashed it out" for three hours with his friend Cass at a Georgetown bar.

"Trump is a lightning rod," Azerrad says. "He arouses such strong passions, and there's so much about him people don't like that it makes it hard to look beyond him to get to the truth, both to the ideas he has—and he does have ideas—and also to the currents he's tapped into." Most agree with Azerrad's prediction about Trumpism. "I don't think there's going to be a return to normal once he leaves."

AND WHAT ARE Trump's ideas? "A combination of nationalism and populism" or "right-wing nationalist populism," says Azerrad, well aware they're loaded terms, especially given Trump's compulsion to sow discord. But suppose they can be put to more constructive use?

That's the hope of these conservatives. One proponent is Michael Needham, who is busily a building a new career on the Hill after an Obama-era run as the enfant terrible of Heritage Action, the foundation's political arm. It was Needham who organized platoons of diehard "sentinels," grassroots true believers, many from the Tea Party movement, who exuberantly joined the crusade to defund Obamacare and hounded wobbly legislators unto exhaustion.

But then last spring, Needham gave it up to become chief of staff to Rubio. It meant a shift to making policy happen, rather than around-the-clock obstructionism. The media today favors a dissenter like Jeff Flake, who speechifies against Trump. But when it comes to policy, Flake is supine. Rubio now wants to do something. Needham touts Rubio's child tax credit and his paid-family-leave proposal. The details were worked out by another millennial conservative whose name comes up frequently: Caleb Orr, a 24-year-old whiz-kid specialist in tax policy who still had a year to go at Abilene Christian University in Texas when he joined Rubio's staff. "He was the sherpa for the family plan, drafted it and worked with Ivanka's team," says a senior colleague.

PREVIOUS PAGES: EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

Orr's talk is salted with a new-age Republican terminology—of "homemaker workers," of the choices between "neoliberalism and industrial nationalist policy," blended with the usual policyspeak of "cash transfers" of "low welfare and high wage, instead of redistribution, predistribution."

The larger question about the post-Trump right is whether they will take their ideas all the way. Are they seriously looking to take the best of Trump and rebuild the party into what Bannon and others say would be a right-wing "workers' party" whose core principle is economic populism? If they are, this places them directly at odds with decades of GOP doctrine—and against their party's current leadership and donor base.

Cass's book, timed for publication the week after the midterms, could either be the battle orders for a second Trump term or a to-do list for a successor stamped in the same mold. There is no mistaking the Trump-inflected themes of nationalism, populism and criticism of free trade. Cass, an alum of Bain & Co.—the progenitor of Romney's Bain Capital—now wants "to combat the unfair trade practices of nations like China," which threaten "to reduce opportunities for workers, lower the trajectory of their productivity and diminish the nation's real prosperity." He also goes after globalization. Currently "we free employers from the constraints of using the existing domestic workforce," he writes, "offering them instead an option of using much cheaper foreign workers overseas or bringing the cheaper workers here." Sanders and Bannon would agree. Cass's pro-worker policy includes wage subsidies, a standard conservative alternative to raising the minimum wage. Under one proposal the subsidy would act differently, by diverting tax giveaways enjoyed now by the wealthy—for instance, slashing further the mortgage-interest deduction—and sending that money down the economic stream, supplementing the paychecks of families while also reinforcing their work ethic. This could potentially address the problem tucked away in the unemployment numbers—that too many of the able-bodied have drifted out of the job market. The problem of "labor-force participation" is a subject for conservatives like Charles Murray and J.D. Vance. What's striking in Cass's argument is its unapologetic Robin Hoodism. He dispenses with homilies about morally educating the poor and instead vows to target the rich, "taking tax revenue drawn from higher earners and inserting it directly into the paychecks of lower earners."

Cass is less inhibited than most because he's a free agent. Those in the Capitol Hill contingent have to watch their words—at least in public. But let them speak privately, and they come out slugging. "Look at the tax bill," said one Senate staffer. "The Republican Party is shrugging. 'We lost the messaging war.' No, you didn't lose the messaging war. The country didn't want a tax cut." Not only that. It might want something else. He adds, "I recognize that Americans like things that I oppose, like an increased minimum wage. That doesn't mean they don't deserve to get it. The Senate's supposed to represent them, not the leadership of the majority party."

'Trump is a reform conservative in strategy, if not in the particulars of substance.'

ROSS DOUTHAT,
op-ed columnist at the New York *Times*

IN THIS IS THE HINT—one the millennials don't dispute—that Democrats might be easier to work with than die-hards in the GOP. "Chuck Schumer was ready to deal with President Trump"—on infrastructure, for one issue. There were policy and personality differences, but had the sides been serious they could have found common ground. Under a more disciplined, transactional President, it could happen. Imagine the heir to Trump who "finds the four or five most popular things the other side is for and tries to couple them with bipartisan compromises," one senior Hill staffer told me. "That's a powerful bully pulpit."

One Capitol Hill aide began our tutorial with a document—a pointillist splash of clustered dots representing voters' interests, done in two colors, blue and red, a computer-generated Seurat. The dots cluster around a generally conservative cultural agenda and a generally liberal economic one. The winning political combination is there for whoever can strike the right combination. Everyone gets it too—except those who call the shots in both parties. "The donor base imposes the unpopular donor agenda whenever they're in power."

Trump has changed that calculation—or could, if he gets out from under his own party's establishment. These young conservatives are direct about this. "The tax bill, the main achievement, was totally plutocratic," says one. And all agree on the explanation. As one Hill staffer put it, "Trump has been rolled

by [Mitch] McConnell and [Paul] Ryan for two years."

But then the point isn't Trump himself. It's translating Trumpism into an enduring movement. "Yes, policy is lagging behind the argument," says Cass. "But I would go further and say the argument is lagging behind the rhetoric."

This is where the writers come in—including an older breakaway group, the reform conservatives—or "reformicons." All through the Obama years, and even before, reformers like New York *Times* columnist Ross Douthat and *National Review* editor Reihan Salam tried to steer the GOP away from the stale dogma of Club for Growth antigovernment tax cutting and onto a new path of problem solving. "Trump is a reform conservative in strategy, if not in the particulars of substance," Douthat said during the campaign. The dean of the reformicons, Yuval Levin, editor of the quarterly wonkfest *National Affairs,* saw this too. "People like me who thought Republicans were crazy for ignoring working-class voters? Trump proves it. They were crazy," Levin said in 2016, when Trump was closing in on the nomination. But undoing the whole structure of the Reagan legacy was too far to go. That structure is being gleefully torn down by *American Affairs,* founded as a pro-Trump publication. Its Harvard-educated editor, the 32-year-old polymath Julius Krein, has moved away from Trump—Krein renounced his support after the white-nationalist violence in Charlottesville—but continues to publish biting critiques of establishment thinking. "What are defined as global norms," Krein recently wrote, "are mostly just the (often selfish and parochial) preferences of the powerful—in this case, a relatively thin stratum of Western elites." As a result, "the more democracy is defended in the name of 'pluralism,' the more rigidly moralistic it becomes." This statement could come from either the far left or the far right. One could imagine Bannon saying it—and also the leftist Slavoj Zizek, who has contributed to *American Affairs.*

'People like me who thought Republicans were crazy for ignoring working-class voters? Trump proves it. They were crazy.'

YUVAL LEVIN,
founding editor of *National Affairs*

THE NEAREST THING to a prophet of the new movement is Michael Lind, who in the peak Reagan years was one of the right's most promising young thinkers. But in the 1990s, Lind broke away, mystified that conservatives had let themselves become front men for the GOP, blindly plunging into the moat of supply-side economics. Reaganism created the new Gilded Age, and it is what led ultimately to the revolt under Trump of the Republican base in 2016. Trump's GOP could implode too. Back then Lind saw a new path in his book *Up From Conservatism* (published in 1996), which proposed "an inclusive, one-nation conservatism," but free of both bigotry and meanspiritedness.

"A one-nation conservatism in America would not be a vehicle for white resentment," he wrote. "Even as they repealed affirmative action and racial labeling as offensive to the ideal of a common citizenship, conservatives with a one-nation philosophy would propose new, race-neutral measures by which the government together with business and communities would seek to help the disproportionately nonwhite poor." And they would be economically liberal.

Lind argued, "Tomorrow's one-nation conservatives would not oppose every measure to strengthen the rights of workers or to increase wages and benefits for ordinary Americans as 'socialism' or as 'crippling regulation' which will 'destroy jobs.'" It is a vision of what might now be called humane Trumpism—or Trumpism with a human face.

But to get there, the millennial conservatives will need to persuade the base. The trick will be remaking the Republican Party into the right-tilting workers' party of their dreams without collapsing into a new edition of the culture wars. "We have earned this moment," Lettieri says.

Whether his party will agree is the big question. To get there they will have to overcome not just the entrenched interests atop the GOP but also Trump's own brand of chaos and confusion. They'll have to get beyond the darker protests of the nativist, racist "alt right" that Trump has emboldened. "This is a generational challenge," says one Capitol Hill millennial. "It's about 'build a consensus, get counterproposals,' having the new people come in and provide new perspectives."

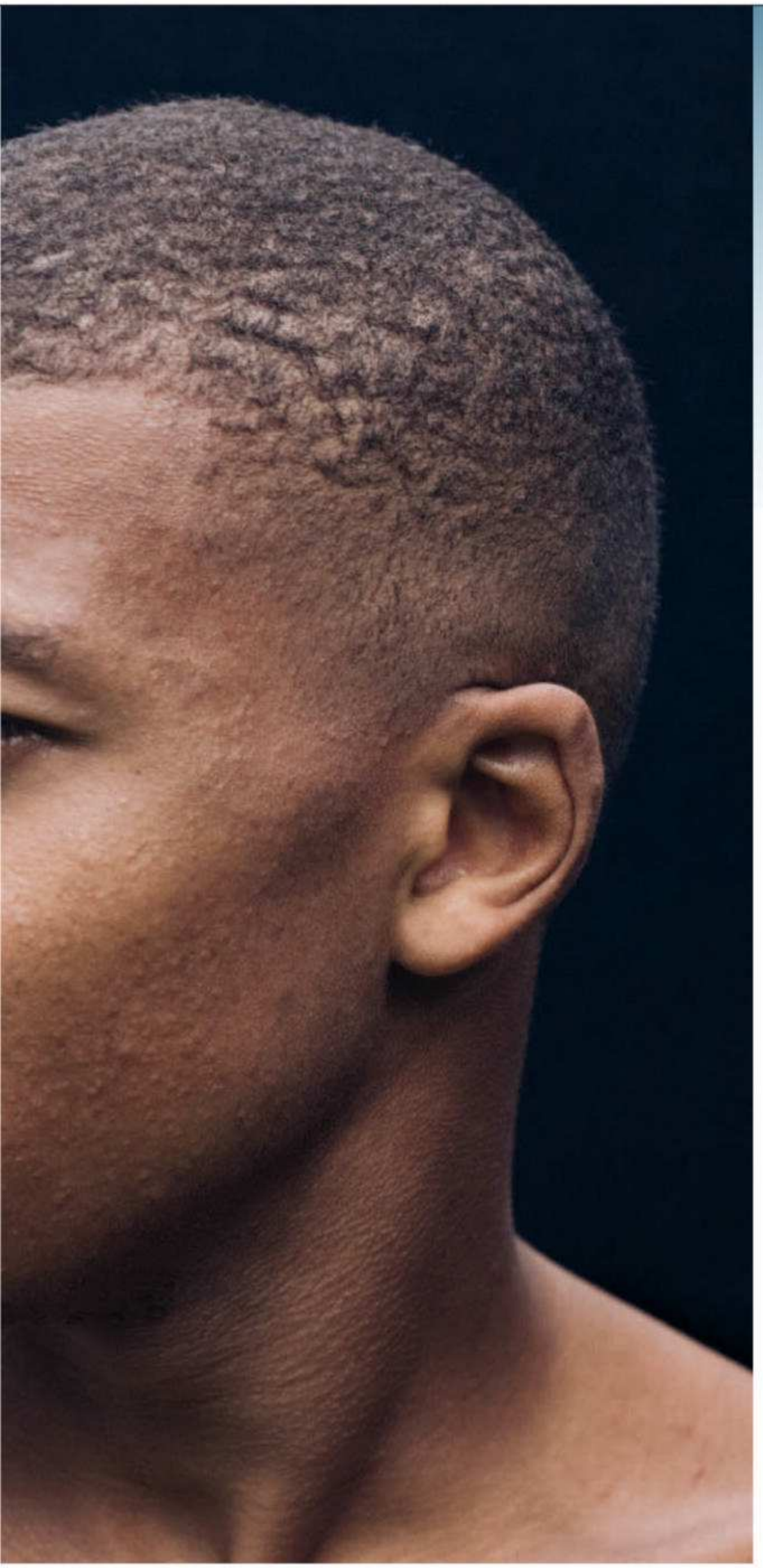
They have one distinct advantage: they are young enough to see it through.

Tanenhaus, a former editor of the New York Times *Book Review, is writing a biography of William F.Buckley Jr.*

NEXT GENERATION LEADERS

YOUNG TRAILBLAZERS WHO ARE RESHAPING MUSIC, HEALTH CARE, SPORTS, COMEDY, POLITICS AND MORE

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON FOR TIME



FRANCE

Kylian Mbappé

Soccer's shooting star

IN THE WANING DAYS OF summer in Paris, Kylian Mbappé sits high above a stadium, trying to find the words to describe how drastic a turn his life has taken this past year. His breathtaking soccer skills have propelled him to global fame in a matter of months. He earns more money than he could ever have imagined. Nike is designing pricey sneakers in his name. LeBron James wants to see him when he comes to town later that week. And when he steps out on the street, people beg him for autographs.

Then there's the fact that he's still just 19 years old, making all this vastly more complicated.

Capturing the wild ride of his last year as a teenager isn't easy. "My life has been totally turned upside down," he says, sitting in an airy, wood-paneled lounge atop the Parc des Princes stadium of soccer club Paris Saint-Germain, or PSG, for which Mbappé is a forward. "I am happy, and I am living the life I always dreamed of." And yet, he says, "I think I might have missed out on something. I did not have the moments of so-called normal people during adolescence, like going out with friends, enjoying good times."

Until recently, Mbappé had an adoring following among millions of European soccer fans, who believed he would emerge as the best player of his generation. But outside that realm, he was little known until 2018, when his abilities catapulted him to worldwide fame. His Instagram account now has nearly 20 million followers—twice the number, for example, as that of Serena Williams.

Mbappé's major stardom began in September last year, when PSG's Qatari owners agreed to pay an astonishing €180 million ($207 million) over five years to the club AS Monaco to transfer Mbappé, its star striker, to his hometown of Paris.

They offered to pay him, at the age of 18, a monthly salary of €1.5 million, or about $1.7 million. (PSG will not confirm the figure, widely reported in the French media.) That made Mbappé the most expensive teenager in soccer history at an age when he had just graduated from high school and learned to drive.

In hindsight, that sum now seems like a steal. Mbappé scored 13 goals in the last French Ligue 1 season, winning the trophy for PSG. That earned him a spot on France's national team headed to the FIFA World Cup in Russia. It was there, this past summer, that Mbappé became a global superstar.

Even among casual watchers of the monthlong World Cup, word of Mbappé spread as a phenomenon you had to see to believe. He would fly past defenders in a blur at speeds over 20 m.p.h., before shooting the ball into the net and then dropping to his knees, a broad grin on his face, as if to say, "You're welcome." In the final match on July 15, against Croatia, Mbappé scored one of France's four goals, clinching soccer's biggest prize for his country and becoming the first teenager to score in a World Cup in 60 years—the last being none other than Brazilian soccer legend Pelé. "Welcome to the club," Pelé tweeted to Mbappé.

At the medal ceremony, French President Emmanuel Macron stood silently hugging Mbappé tight, seemingly on the verge of tears. More than 1 million people poured into the streets of Paris, jamming the vast Avenue de Champs-Élysées. Mbappé says he barely grasped what had happened until the team rode through screaming crowds in Paris in an open-top bus the next day. "We realized we left a mark on history," he says.

As he hurtles toward household-name status, the question looming over Kylian Mbappé is what kind of a soccer player he will be. Will fame and riches turn him into one of the game's cautionary tales—an adored wunderkind who soon flames out? Or can he remain grounded enough to grow into his skills and become a role model to soccer-loving kids around the world? "Mbappé has this explosive speed. It is amazing he has got to this level at this age," says Richard Fitzpatrick, a soccer author in Barcelona who has tracked Mbappé's career for years. "But I would urge caution," he says. "It is too early to tell his future."

FOR MANY IN FRANCE, Mbappé embodies more than just an extraordinary soccer player. He is a living rags-to-riches fairy tale, his story beginning in Paris' hard-hit immigrant suburbs or *banlieues,* whose crumbling high-rise blocks ring the city's glittering core. In fact, eight of France's 23 World Cup players were, like Mbappé, sons of African immigrants from the low-income *banlieues,* including stars Paul Pogba, N'Golo Kanté and Blaise Matuidi. "Yes! Africa won the World Cup!" quipped *Daily Show* host Trevor Noah, who is South African, after France's victory. The remark drew fury from France. "They are French citizens," French ambassador to the U.S. Gérard Araud shot back. "They are proud of their country."

Still, on the streets of Bondy, the Paris *banlieue* where Mbappé was born and raised by his Cameroonian father Wilfried and Algerian mother Fayza Lamari, the World Cup victory seems more personal than patriotic. After decades of grievances, and with an unemployment rate over 22%, Bondy's celebrations in July were more complicated than French officials had implied; the area was among those that erupted in violent protests in 2005, when Mbappé was just 6. Bondy's joy is for the town's local boy made good—Mbappé, who was just 14 when he left for Monaco in 2013; the Mbappés now live together in central Paris.

Five years on, Mbappé is reluctant to dwell on life in the *banlieues,* aware that his new wealth is a sharp contrast from his childhood. He donated his World Cup earnings of about $500,000 to a charity teaching sports to sick and disabled children—a piddling sum for him, he admits, that "does not change my life, but changes theirs." But having left hardship behind, Mbappé still credits his Bondy years for his career. Many children there play soccer almost incessantly from toddlerhood; his father was a coach at Bondy's municipal sports club. "Bondy is a city that breathes football," he says.

Up the side of one Bondy high-rise, Nike erected a billboard before the World Cup, depicting Mbappé, and referring to France's previous World Cup win in 1998. It read: '98 WAS A GREAT YEAR FOR FRENCH FOOTBALL. KYLIAN WAS BORN. A separate billboard covered 11 floors of a Bondy apartment block for months, depicting Mbappé with his thumbs up, and reading, BONDY: VILLE DES POSSIBLES ("city of possibilities").

Bondy's residents have been gripped by that sense of possibility since Mbappé's World Cup victory. "All the parents come to me saying, 'I want my son to be Kylian,'" says Jean-François Suner, sports director at Bondy's municipal athletic center, where Mbappé learned his skills from age 6, and where his father coached soccer. "I tell them gently that will not be possible," he says, sitting in his cramped office. "I have been working here 37 years, and it is the first time I have seen this. I do not think there will be others."

For all the incredible talent and luck in reaching the pinnacle of the world's biggest sport, there is also the danger of falling from a very dizzy height. An unexpected incident, like an injury on the field, or bad behavior off it (he is a teenager, after all) could blow Mbappé off course or lose him the world's adulation.

Mbappé during a September ceremony to celebrate France's World Cup win. At 19, he became the country's youngest goal scorer at a major tournament

Mbappé is often held up as the wholesome counterpoint to PSG's other superstar forward Neymar. The 26-year-old Brazilian regularly makes headlines for his hard partying and self-promotion, and did poorly playing for Brazil at the World Cup. Fitzpatrick says as Mbappé carves a path for himself, Neymar should be his example of what to avoid. "My advice to him: keep a low profile, and concentrate on the football," he says.

Even at 19, Mbappé does not mistake the summit he occupies for the status quo. "We can be the best and the world champions, as we are now," he says. "And in four years, you are forgotten, because there is someone else who has arrived and done better than you."

And he says keeping his head will require more than simply focusing on his sport. "I have learned that the biggest stars and the greatest players are the most humble ones, the ones who respect people the most," Mbappé says, speaking as though he has lived a lot longer than two decades. As important is staying grounded. "You always have to keep some lucidity," he says. "There are three criteria: respect, humility and lucidity."

Those virtues have been tested since his return from his incredible World Cup victory, when two missteps played out under the klieg lights of celebrity. On Sept. 1, Mbappé pushed an opposing player during a match against the French team Nîmes, perhaps fearing he might be deliberately targeted for injury—not unknown for star players. French soccer authorities banned him for three matches. Then on Sept. 18, Mbappé lost control of the ball in a split-second error in the final minutes of a match against Liverpool, costing PSG the game. "From hero to villain" was ESPN's brutal conclusion.

Some wondered whether sudden stardom had thrown him off-kilter. The gyrations of fame and pressure are tough at any age, let alone for a teenager. And Mbappé says he has had little time to grow up. Until now, he has been the kid among far older players. "I was right away in the world of adults, grownups," he says. "They immediately demanded that I behave like an adult."

Mbappé says he is heavily dependent on one thing to keep him grounded: his family. That much was clear the afternoon that TIME met him. For hours, his mother Fayza, who acts as Mbappé's fiercely protective gatekeeper, fussed nervously in the background. As we set up a camera in PSG's lounge, Mbappé's 12-year-old brother Ethan, who plays youth soccer at the club, darted in and out of the room, giggling at the hubbub, before bounding down the bleachers to play on the empty field; Mbappé also has an older adoptive brother, Jirès Kembo Ekoko, a Congolese immigrant who now plays professional soccer in Turkey.

"We have always been very close," Mbappé says. "Very much a family, all together at home, all at the table eating together. We have never given that up." He believes that cocoon has been crucial for his career. "They have always been there to help me, whether it was my first match in Bondy or now in front of 80,000 spectators," he says. "That is a real support. And it can be felt on the field."

It is not clear how much longer Mbappé can depend on that closeness. As Mbappé ended his suspension with a spectacular four-goal game against Lyon on Oct. 7, Chelsea, Manchester and Real Madrid have all been rumored to be trying to recruit him, for record transfer fees of up to $350 million.

Mbappé will not yet discuss leaving, and perhaps the dizzying sums of money on offer are too nerve-racking to mention. Instead, he says he clings to some home truths he learned from his mother, who played competitive handball in Bondy, and watched as the coaches there picked out young Kylian as a likely future star. "My mom has always told me that to become a great football player, you must be before all a great man," he says. Mbappé is not yet fully a man. And what kind he becomes could largely depend on the choices he makes about how to manage his sudden, huge fame. The world will be watching. —VIVIENNE WALT

'All the parents come to me saying, "I want my son to be Kylian."'

JEAN-FRANÇOIS SUNER, sports director at Bondy's municipal athletic center, where Mbappé trained from age 6

PREVIOUS PAGES: MAGNUM PHOTOS; THESE PAGES: FRANCK FIFE—POOL/SIPA/AP

CAMEROON

Arthur Zang

Transforming rural health care

In the Central African country of Cameroon, home to 24 million people, there are only some 50 cardiologists—and 12% of all deaths are caused by heart disease.

Growing up in a small village near Cameroon's capital city, Yaoundé, and dreaming of being a doctor, Arthur Zang, now 30, didn't know any of that. But today his invention, the Cardio-Pad, is transforming the way heart conditions are diagnosed in sub-Saharan Africa and beyond.

Zang's idea began after he was rejected from medical school and decided to study computer science instead. As an intern, he met a cardiologist who told him rural patients had to make expensive and dangerous journeys just to get diagnosed correctly. Zang set about designing the Cardio-Pad, a handheld tablet that physicians in remote locations could use to send scans to cardiologists in the city. During development, his uncle died from a heart attack. "That pushed me to finish the device," he says.

The Cardio-Pad launched in 2016 and is now deployed throughout Cameroon, four other African countries and Nepal. Zang has also started a program distributing Cardio-Pads to hospitals in Cameroon for free, with patients paying an annual fee for access to diagnoses. "Poor people face many problems in hospital," he says. "I wanted to help them get better care, wherever they live." *—Billy Perrigo*

U.S.

Hasan Minhaj

America's sharpest voice

DOZENS OF POLITICAL-satire shows crowd U.S. airwaves. On Oct. 28, Hasan Minhaj, a former *Daily Show* correspondent who skewered President Donald Trump at the 2017 White House Correspondents' Dinner, will join the fray with a weekly Netflix show, *Patriot Act*.

Minhaj, 33, believes his perspective is what will help him stand out. "Historically, people with my identity across the world have been

'I love America, but there are things I'd want to change.'

HASAN MINHAJ, comedian, actor and former correspondent on *The Daily Show*

PHOTOGRAPH BY MATTHEW TAMMARO FO

spoken for or spoken to," he tells TIME at the show's offices in Manhattan.

Minhaj won a Peabody Award for his breakout comedy special *Homecoming King*, which debuted on Netflix in May 2017. With the help of PowerPoint visuals, he describes growing up as a first-generation Indian-American Muslim kid in Davis, Calif. He breaks up jokes with poignant meditations: Minhaj looks directly at the camera when he details how a date's parents told him that he couldn't attend the homecoming dance with their white daughter.

He plans to bring the same style to *Patriot Act*. He points out that unlike a U.S.-based network, Netflix will afford him an international audience. "I'm an insider and an outsider at the same time. There hasn't been a show like this because there haven't been people who look like me in this space."

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

R TIME

ZANG: RUDI GEYSER FOR TIME; AL-BANAWI: AYESHA MALIK FOR TIME

SAUDI ARABIA

Fatima al-Banawi

Saudi storyteller

After starring in Saudi Arabia's first romantic comedy, Fatima al-Banawi, 30, learned that the story of a much loved movie character can sometimes overshadow an actor's own. As a Saudi woman, she also knew what it was like to have her story told for her—defined by what she had to wear (an abaya) and by what she couldn't do (drive, travel freely).

So by the time she finished her master's degree in theology at Harvard, al-Banawi was determined to help Saudis tell their own stories. In 2015 she placed a couple of kiosks in the cafés of her hometown, Jeddah, equipped with blank paper, pens, a submission box and an exhortation to "write your story."

The Other Story Project was meant to run for six months. At first, Saudis were uncomfortable with the medium, and the stories were stilted. But the longer the kiosks stayed up, the better the submissions became. "This feeling of togetherness was something we were missing," she says. Al-Banawi turned the anonymous one-page submissions into performance-art pieces. She also shared some on Instagram alongside illustrations she commissioned.

The stories offer a portrait of Saudi society at its most intimate, ranging from angry screeds to heartfelt confessions to wry meditations on life, love, family and identity. Two years and 5,000 submissions later, al-Banawi is publishing a book, in Arabic and English, that she hopes will allow Saudis to reclaim their narrative. "We tend to think we are the only person on earth feeling this way," she says. "When we share, we realize we aren't alone." *—Aryn Baker*

GAZA STRIP

Rasha Abu-Safieh and Bassma Ali

Connecting young Palestinians with the world

When Bassma Ali finished college with a degree in computer science, she was eager to find a job in her hometown in the Gaza Strip. But, as with many skilled graduates in the territory of 1.9 million people, her enthusiasm soon turned into frustration.

Since 2007, Gaza has been under a land, air and sea blockade from Israel, which severely restricts the movement of goods and people. According to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 49% of the working-age population is unemployed. The problem is especially acute among Gaza's young IT graduates, roughly 70% of whom can't find jobs. "Everyone is trapped," Ali says. "It feels like you're facing a wall."

Ali, 33, and Rasha Abu-Safieh, 34, are trying to tear down that wall with their startup, GGateway. Launched in 2012 as part of the U.N.'s agency for Palestinian refugees, it gets around restrictions on the territory by connecting tech-savvy Gazans to companies with remote working opportunities. They have helped 620 young Gazans build tech-based careers. In May, they secured $3 million from the World Bank to turn GGateway into a regional hub for the digital economy.

The pair say the lack of opportunity here contributes to a high rate of mental-health problems in Gaza and leaves young people vulnerable to exploitation by extremist groups. "They feel they belong to nowhere and their dreams are unachievable," Ali says. "That's very dangerous."

GGateway aims to transform their outlook. "When we get them generating an income, they start to believe in their abilities," Abu-Safieh says. "They start to believe they have a future." *—Ciara Nugent*

Abu-Safieh, left, and Ali say trainees find a "second home" at their Gaza City offices

ABU-SAFIEH AND ALI: WISSAM NASSAR FOR TIME

U.S.

Amandla Stenberg

A new kind of Hollywood star

MANDLA STENBERG IS USED to having a spotlight on everything she does. "I'm always walking this precarious line of having my actions over-politicized," she says. "But at the same time, there's political intention in the actions."

It's weighty stuff for a teenager, but Stenberg, 19, stands out even in the current ecosystem of socially conscious young performers. She's more than a movie star: she's an activist, political pioneer and leading voice of her generation. But today, she's just sipping a latte in the back of a Manhattan coffee shop, wearing the crispest vintage-inspired T-shirt I've ever seen, flimsy sweats and a pink belt bag stylishly draped on her shoulder. Her skin is super clear, which I assume is from a mixture of drinking tons of water and being totally unproblematic—the cheapest and most effective anti-aging regimen. In short, she comes across like any effortlessly cool teen you'd pass on the street.

Yet, like she said, everything Stenberg does is intentional, sometimes deceptively so. That might mean changing her Instagram handle to @amandlasponsored to satirize how brands have infiltrated social media: "I was trolling myself," she says, "[because] there are forces at play that ensure I use it as a tool for my career." Or it might mean choosing a film project that's aligned with a message she's willing to fight for. Her latest, *The Hate U Give,* is based on Angie Thomas' best-selling 2017 novel by the same name, and Stenberg attached herself to the project before the book was even published.

She plays Starr, a high schooler delicately balancing her lower-class black upbringing with her upper-middle-class white private schooling. When Starr witnesses the killing of an unarmed black friend at the hands of a police officer, she's galvanized into action—and activism. It's a YA movie that proves the genre can tackle complex social issues with nuance, and a powerful reminder that we're all capable of inciting change. Stenberg's sensitive

performance is likely to make her a megastar.

She calls the making of the film a "spiritual" process, as it forced her to focus intently on the unjust treatment of people of color by police: "It was a reflection in confrontation and grieving and finding closure," she says, although she notes "the trauma was really intense." Yet she knew it was important enough to push through: "It didn't necessarily scare me," she says, "because I understood the significance of it."

PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORDIE WOOD FOR TIME

Although Stenberg got her start in films like *The Hunger Games,* she went viral over a school project—a video called "Don't Cash Crop My Cornrows," released in 2015, that explored cultural appropriation in a way that was both playful and thoughtful. She talked openly about intersectional feminism and queer identity, building a devoted following on social media—over 1.8 million followers on Instagram, where her writing is impassioned and informed. Sample caption: "Complex, nuanced stories about people of color are largely absent from history books. And when our stories ARE told, they are frequently postulated through the lens of whiteness and colonization."

Stenberg jokes that she's more than her talking points. "I'm, like, a three-dimensional whole-ass person!" But like most teens, she is still figuring out exactly who that person is. Part of that meant coming out to the world—and herself—as gay. "That's what I strive for in terms of being [visible] for black girls [and] marginalized people who don't get representation for themselves in the media," she says. It's different when you have millions of fans watching, but that's not her primary concern: "If that has any sort of political weight or social weight, that's fantastic," she says. "There could be moments or periods of time where it has none, and that would also be fantastic." She doesn't need to share her whole life with the world—sometimes she just wants to like memes on her private Instagram.

She's also been working in another medium, just for herself: music. Stenberg says she's been experimenting with the many instruments she plays, including the drums, guitar and, her personal favorite, the violin. "It's a strange instrument," she says. "It requires a really specific attention to detail, but there's no limitations on how you decide to express yourself on it." She's not ready to share her recordings with the world—"I would like to have one area of my privacy where there's not a lot of pressure on it," she says—but she's clearly passionate. (Today she's particularly hyped on a song she made last night, which she says sounds like a "Mario bop.")

And while she calls social media a double-edged sword, she also recognizes how critical it's been in helping people like her feel seen. "When social media first started popping up, it was really exciting because for the first time, we weren't dependent on white institutions to afford us platforms of representation," she says. "A few years later, you see the effects in Hollywood, in the diversity that's finally being portrayed onscreen."

Which creates room for even more voices like Stenberg's. "I'm still figuring out what box I would like to be defined by," she says. Then she reconsiders. "But hopefully, I'll never be defined by any box." —MARIAH SMITH

ARGENTINA

Sabrina Cartabia

Warrior for women's rights

Sabrina Cartabia is wearing bright green nail varnish when she speaks to TIME from her home in Buenos Aires. "We see it here as the color of hope," she says. Just a few weeks earlier, the prominent 33-year-old lawyer and women's-rights activist joined nearly a million others at mass demonstrations on Aug. 8, as Argentina's Senate voted on a historic abortion-rights bill.

The Senate ultimately rejected the bill—meaning that abortion remains legal only in cases of rape or when a mother's health is in danger. But for Cartabia, the fight is far from over. Since 2009 she has been a vocal figurehead of Argentina's women's-rights movement—working on everything from legal defense for incarcerated women from poorer neighborhoods to promoting broader sex education to help reduce gender violence.

"Part of our work is to point out when our leaders are failing," she says. And it seems Argentina's leaders want to listen. In April, Cartabia was invited to Congress, where she delivered women's testimonies on experiences of abortion.

The momentum in Argentina—a predominantly Catholic country where public support for abortion rights has been growing—has spilled over to other Latin American nations. "They have started adopting our green handkerchief to support legalization," Cartabia says. "The feminist movement now in Argentina is stronger than ever." —*Suyin Haynes*

U.K.

Sheku Kanneh-Mason

Champion for classical music

IT WOULD HAVE BEEN HARD FOR ANYONE TO upstage the bride and groom at the royal wedding in May, but Sheku Kanneh-Mason came close. As Prince Harry and Meghan Markle signed their registry, the British cello prodigy stepped forward to play Maria Theresia von Paradis' *Sicilienne*. The reception was rapturous, not least online, where #cellobae began trending globally. The 19-year-old Brit humbly puts the response down to audiences being given something new. "The music itself can appeal to anyone," he says. "It's just a case of people having the chance to hear it or see it."

For Kanneh-Mason, who won the BBC's

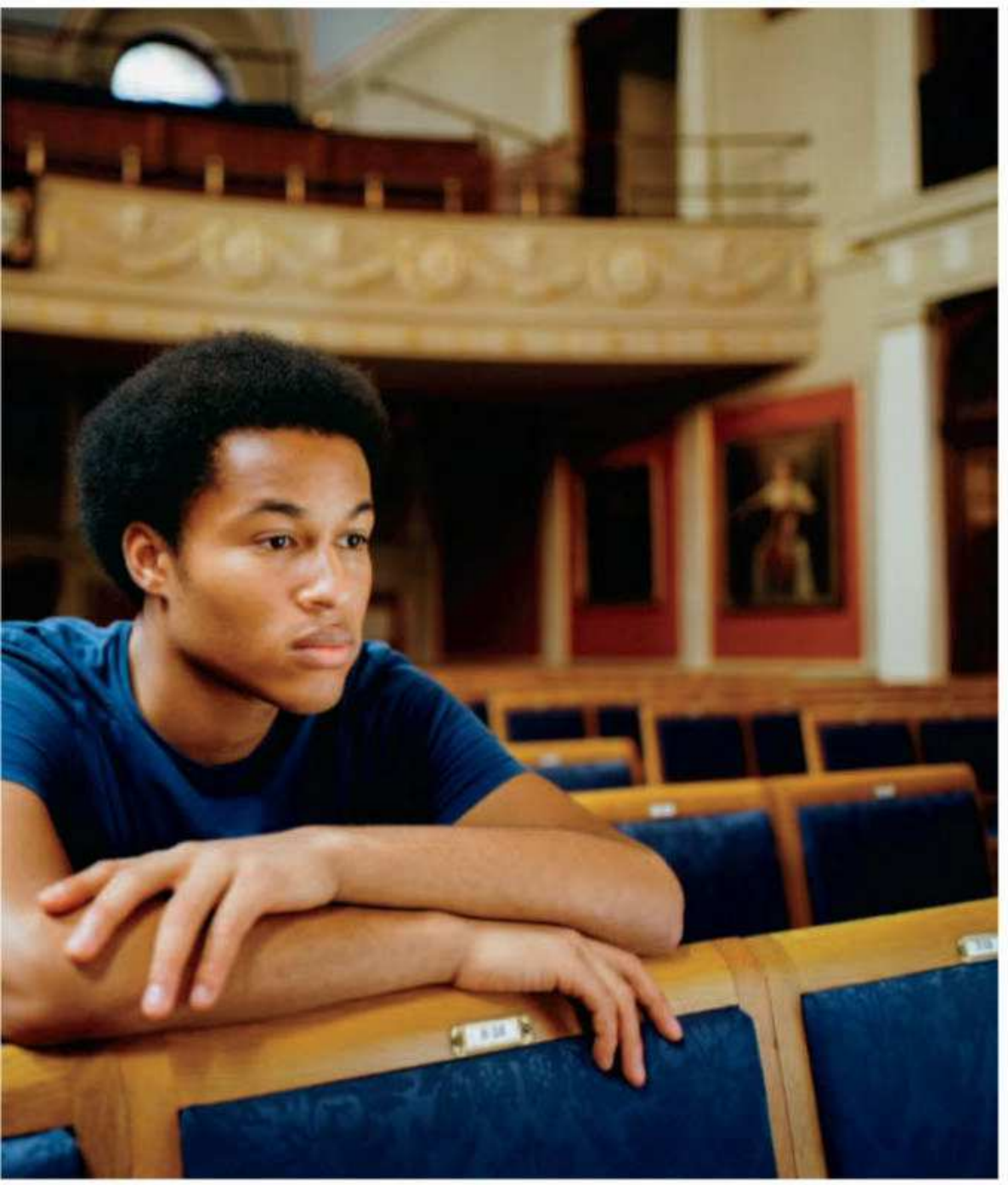
"If I am able to inspire someone to love the music that I love and take up an instrument, then that's a wonderful thing."

SHEKU KANNEH-MASON, cellist

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOONEY WOODWARD FOR

prestigious Young Musician of the Year honor in 2016, his newfound prominence is an opportunity to show young people of color that they too can aspire to a career in classical music. It's a strikingly homogeneous genre; only 16% of England's arts-and-culture workforce hails from a black or minority ethnic background, and in the U.S. just 1.8% of orchestral players are black. "If you're a young black child and you go to a concert, you would very rarely see someone onstage who looks like you," says Kanneh-Mason, who grew up in a suburb of Nottingham, England. "Therefore it's difficult to see yourself doing that."

To help change that perception, the teenager visits high schools across the country to promote music education and has helped fund cello lessons at his alma mater. His efforts may take years to bear fruit, but it will be worth it, he says. "If I am able to inspire someone to love the music that I love and take up an instrument, then that's a wonderful thing." —CASEY QUACKENBUSH



Kanneh-Mason, who sold more than 100,000 copies of his debut album, at the Royal Academy of Music in London

CARTABIA: ERICA CANEPA FOR TIME; FIGGENER: BRYAN SCHUTMAAT FOR TIME

GERMANY

Christine Figgener

Ending the age of plastic

Christine Figgener could never have predicted that an eight-minute video would change the course of her career. But in August 2015, the 34-year-old marine-conservation biologist discovered a sea turtle in Costa Rica with a plastic straw lodged up its nose. Outraged at the extreme discomfort to the creature, Figgener filmed her research crew removing the straw from the turtle's nose, blood oozing from its nostrils.

The heart-wrenching video has racked up more than 32 million views on YouTube. "I thought I can really show what kind of harm one object can do," she says.

Americans alone use as many as 390 million plastic straws a day—just a small proportion of the 8 million metric tons of plastic that ends up in the ocean annually. Though Figgener's video is three years old, it continues to make waves. In July it was credited with helping galvanize broader support for moves by major companies like Starbucks and American Airlines in phasing out plastic straws. "We can all do something," Figgener says.

Alongside finishing her dissertation at Texas A&M University, Figgener spends her time visiting schools to educate younger generations about the ocean. She also takes part in a pen-pal program, hoping to show people that scientists aren't just white men. "I want to give children the idea that they can be a scientist too, no matter who they are," Figgener says.

—Sophia Rosenbaum

SOUTH KOREA

BTS

Taking K-pop worldwide

IT'S EARLY ON A MONDAY night in September at a lavish top-floor suite of the Ritz-Carlton in Los Angeles, and Jimin, one-seventh of BTS, the most popular boy band in the world, is napping.

You can't blame him for being exhausted. Exactly 24 hours earlier, Jimin, 22; Jin, 25; Suga, 25; J-Hope, 24; RM, 24; V, 22; and Jung Kook, 21, were warming up backstage at L.A.'s Staples Center, prepping to perform their fourth and final show of a sold-out stretch at the 20,000-seat arena. Each night is a marathon of sharp dance choreography, music-video interludes and indoor pyrotechnics—all backgrounded, of course, by the roars of screaming fans. "It's a real honor," says J-Hope, via a translator. "We're proud that everything we do is giving off light."

Like the Beatles and One Direction before them, BTS serves up a mania-inducing mix of heartthrob good looks and earworm choruses, alongside dance moves in the vein of New Kids on the Block and *NSYNC. But the band—whose name stands for Beyond the Scene—is also breaking new ground. Not only is BTS the first Korean act to sell out a U.S. stadium (to say nothing of the records they've set across Asia), but they've done so without catering to Western audiences. Only one of their members, RM, speaks fluent English, and most of their songs are in Korean—even more proof that music "doesn't have to be English to be a global phenomenon," says Steve Aoki, a U.S. DJ who has collaborated with BTS. The group is also preternaturally adept at leveraging social media, both to promote their music and connect with their fans.

But for now, at least, they may need sleep. "I'm still trying to get over my jet lag," deadpans Suga, one of the group's three rappers.

'We started to tell the stories that people wanted to hear and were ready to hear.'

SUGA, of BTS, about the group's global success

PHOTOGRAPH BY NHU XUAN HUA FOR TIME

The seven members of BTS, from left: V, Jin, Suga, Jung Kook, Jimin, RM and J-Hope

SINCE ITS GENESIS in the ’90s, Korean pop—or K-pop—has become synonymous with what studios call “idols”: a cadre of young, polished, perfect-seeming pop stars whose images are often rigorously controlled. (Many are discouraged from discussing their dating lives, so as to seem available to fans.) But even as K-pop matured to a nearly $5 billion industry with fans around the world, its biggest stars—including Rain, Girls’ Generation and Big Bang—largely failed to gain traction in Western markets. The outlier was Psy, a South Korean rapper whose “Gangnam Style” became a viral hit in 2012, though his comic, outlandish persona was an unlikely (and some critics argue, problematic) herald for the genre.

When BTS arrived in 2013, it was clear they would play by new rules. They were formed by Bang Si-hyuk, a K-pop renegade who left a major label to start his own enterprise. And although BTS has idol elements—the slick aesthetics, the sharp choreography, the fun-loving singles—they also embrace their flaws. Their first release, “No More Dream,” took on the ways Korean kids feel stymied by societal expectations; RM recorded a song with Wale that alludes to the importance of activism; Suga released a mixtape addressing his depression. “We said what other people were feeling—like pain, anxieties and worries,” Suga says. It helps, too, that their sound is broadly appealing, fusing hip-hop with EDM and pop; recent collaborators include Desiigner and Nicki Minaj.

Those traits have resonated with fans, especially on social media, where BTS has amassed millions of devoted followers. They call themselves ARMY, which is both an acronym for Adorable Representative M.C. for Youth and a nod to their organized power. In 2017, BTS fans made headlines for lifting the group to the top of Billboard’s Social Artist chart—which incorporates streams, social-media mentions and more—and besting the likes of Justin Bieber and Selena Gomez. Since then, the ARMY has catapulted both of BTS’s latest albums, *Love Yourself: Answer* and *Love Yourself: Tear,* to the top of album charts in the U.S., South Korea and Japan. “Even if there is a language barrier, once the music starts, people react pretty much the same wherever we go,” says Suga. “It feels like the music really brings us together.”

BACK AT THE RITZ, a makeup artist wakes Jimin from his nap. Nearby V sings a bar of music as his bleach-blond hair gets blown out. Jung Kook stretches his neck as a makeup artist applies concealer. RM chats with a manager. Suga slips into loafers. Jin, who goes by the fan-given moniker of “Worldwide Handsome,” lets a wardrobe assistant tie his necktie. J-Hope’s laughter filters through the door.

It’s a rare moment of downtime for the boys. Over the coming weeks, they will perform 11 more sold-out shows, appear on *Good Morning America* and even help launch a youth empowerment initiative at the U.N. General Assembly, at which RM spoke about self-acceptance: “No matter who you are or where you’re from, your skin color, your gender identity, speak yourself.”

A schedule like this might seem daunting. But for BTS—and their ARMY—it’s an encouraging sign of what’s to come. “I’m just throwing it out there,” Suga says, “but maybe we could perform at the Super Bowl someday.” —RAISA BRUNER

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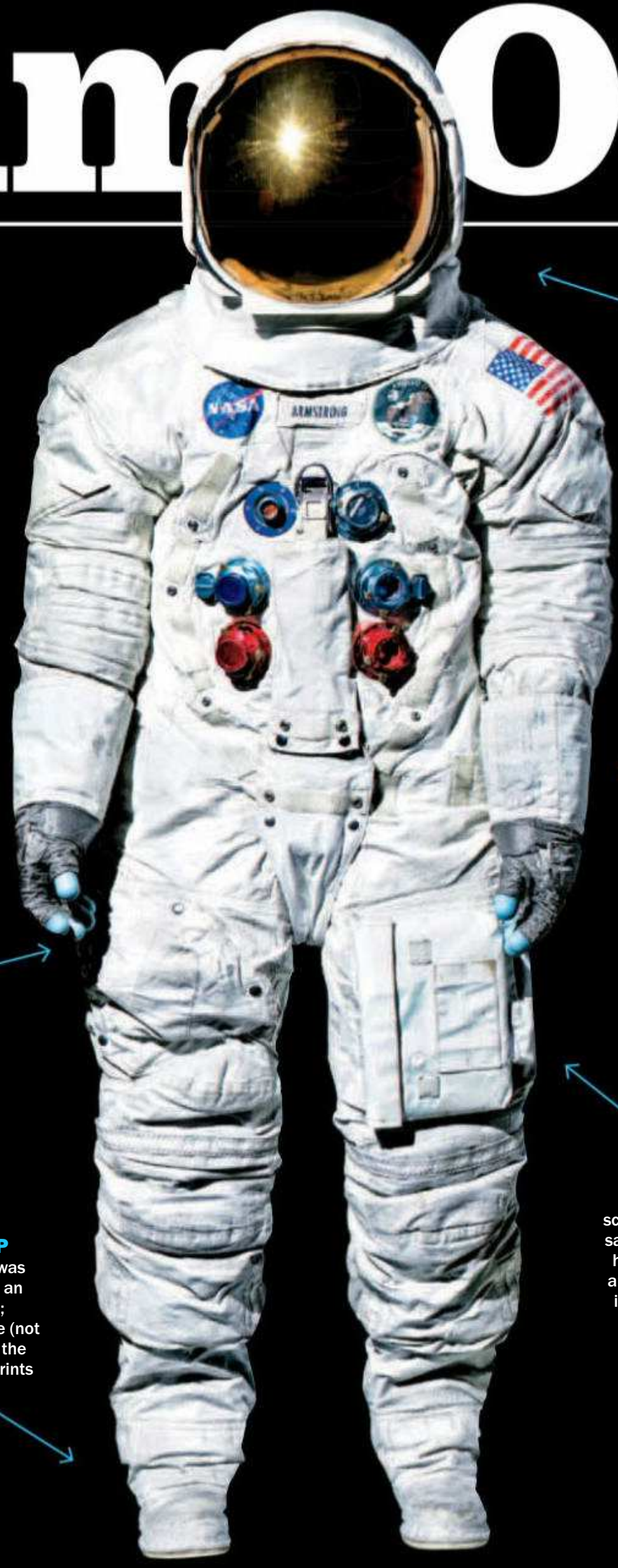
Time Off



WORK CLOTHES
Nearly 50 years after the Apollo 11 mission, TIME photographed Neil Armstrong's spacesuit in the Smithsonian Institution lab where it is being restored

FISHBOWL
The astronauts could turn their heads within a fixed helmet; the visor protected the eyes from ultraviolet radiation

SOFT ARMOR
The outer layer of the suit was made of Teflon-coated glass-fiber cloth to help protect against micrometeorites

LIGHT TOUCH
The pressurized gloves limited dexterity, but silicone rubber in the thumb and fingertips provided some sense of feel

JUST IN CASE
Armstrong's first job on the moon was to scoop up a "contingency sample" and tuck it into his leg pocket, in case an emergency required immediate departure

FIRST STEP
The lunar boot was slipped on over an airtight layer; a rubber overshoe (not pictured) made the celebrated footprints

INSIDE

LENA DUNHAM RETURNS TO HBO WITH CAMPING

A NETFLIX COOKING SHOW HAILS FUNDAMENTALS

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARCO GROB FOR TIME

MOVIES

First Man tells the story of a hero you thought you knew

By Jeffrey Kluger

NASA DIDN'T TALK MUCH ABOUT THE DAY IT nearly killed Neil Armstrong—and that was smart. It was just over a year before Armstrong was set to become the first man on the moon, in command of Apollo 11, and while he hadn't been officially tapped for the gig yet, he was on the short list and everyone knew it. Worse, NASA already had recent blood on its hands, after the fire in the Apollo 1 spacecraft that killed three astronauts just the year before.

So things were kept relatively quiet on the May day in 1968, when Armstrong was flying a training mission in the Lunar Landing Research Vehicle (LLRV)—a four-legged machine about the size of a small truck meant to simulate the actual lunar module—and just 200 ft. aboveground, it started to spin out of control. Armstrong fought to stabilize it, had no luck and with two seconds to go before the LLRV crashed, he ejected, blasted away and descended by parachute—passing directly through the oily plume of black smoke the lander produced when it smashed into the Texas scrub.

As other Apollo astronauts recall it, Armstrong was back at his desk within the hour, wordlessly working on the accident report. As the scene is grippingly depicted in the new Armstrong biopic *First Man*—based on the book by James R. Hansen and directed by Damien Chazelle with his *La La Land* star Ryan Gosling as Armstrong—he made a brief stop at home first, where he cleaned up and gulped iced tea before dashing back out. Both versions capture the man.

"Neil didn't stop," says Chazelle, joined by Gosling for lunch at a Los Angeles café. "He crashes the thing and he's bloody-faced, talking with the other guys, and then he's walking and they're trying to stop him and they can't. He was making this headlong rush to the moon."

Armstrong did not rush alone. He was just the point man for the 400,000 people who worked in the great lunar push of the 1960s and who were, themselves, the leading edge of a nation of 200 million who had accepted President Kennedy's 1962 challenge to have Americans on the moon by the end of the decade. The country met the challenge, sticking the landing on July 20, 1969.

It is now going on 50 years since Armstrong flew, and a movie about a figure like him and an accomplishment like Apollo 11 comes at an odd and instructive time. It's an era of split screens and bellowed opinions, of online exhibitionism and self-celebration. The office occupied by Kennedy, who threw down the lunar gauntlet, is now occupied by President Trump, whose throwdowns are more personal. The anonymous engineers who built the Saturn V rocket have been replaced by the impulsive Elon Musk, who makes both cars and rockets—and also all manner of messes with his tweets and outbursts that are quintessentially 2018.

The moon and the home pulled Apollo astronauts in opposite directions. Armstrong (Gosling), with his wife and son in their Houston kitchen, suffered that more than most

DANIEL MCFADDEN—UNIVERSAL

None of that was Armstrong. It was one of history's bits of wicked mischief that for millennia, humanity had a job opening it dreamed of filling—"first man on the moon"—which called for a person who would be comfortable living in the white-hot light of fame that would be trained on him for the rest of his life. What it got instead was a man who was less morning glory than night phlox—a flower that closes in the sunlight and opens after dark.

That was part of the challenge that Chazelle faced—making a compelling movie about a man who was taciturn, remote, more inclined to deflect praise than accept it. In an earlier era, Gary Cooper would have played the part; in this era, Gosling got the nod, and he knew it would not be easy.

"Neil was a very, very layered

person," he says. "Extremely humble, extremely knowledgeable. He had this great depth of character—though those things are not easy to externalize." Gosling does externalize, with a wonderfully taut minimalism. "It helped a lot that we have Ryan," says screenwriter Josh Singer. "Ryan can live in the small."

Part of Armstrong's temperamental austerity was born of profound sorrow. (Multiple spoilers follow.) It was the sorrow of one of his first and closest astronaut friends, Elliot See, dying in a crash of his T-38 jet. It was the sorrow and the horror of the Apollo 1 fire that killed astronauts Gus Grissom, Ed White and Roger Chaffee in January 1967. And it was the sorrow, most terribly, that Armstrong and his wife Jan (played by Claire Foy) bore when their 2-year-old daughter, Karen, died of brain cancer. That happened before Armstrong even joined the space program, but it may have been one of the things that pushed him there.

"It's the kind of loss that can drive you across the cosmos," Chazelle says.

Armstrong did cover that cosmic distance. He made the great journey and took the great steps. The triumph of Chazelle's film is that it doesn't just tell us the story of that mission, which we know very well—but the story of a man we barely know at all.

FIRST MAN, like other space movies before it, is filled with magnificent machines. The re-creation of the two-man Gemini spacecraft, which has never made a notable appearance in a major film before, is faithful to the last switch and warning light. The Saturn V rocket, which we've seen onscreen before, has never looked so real or so glam.

"They had a 20-ft.-tall Saturn V model that was absolutely fantastic. I tried to steal the damn thing," jokes Al Worden, Apollo 15 lunar astronaut, who worked as an on-set consultant.

But *First Man* wants us to fear the machines too. The movie opens with a horror-show flight Armstrong took in an X-15 rocket plane in 1961. It is shot brutally, claustrophobically, with the viewer trapped inside the tiny cockpit as the plane shakes wildly and the engine roars deafeningly. Armstrong flies more than 20 miles into the stratosphere and all at once realizes he can't come down again, as the plane begins "ballooning," or bouncing off the top of the atmosphere. It's an early lesson in the wages of hubris and the stakes of the movie: you can leave the Earth, but don't be so sure you'll be allowed to return. Chazelle ensures we feel both the fear and the violence.

'It's the kind of loss that can drive you across the cosmos.'

DAMIEN CHAZELLE

"I hope the scene gets turned into a ride at Universal at some point," Gosling says. "I don't remember much from the shoot. I just remember Damien screaming, 'More shaking! More shaking!'"

Something similar is true of the scene of Armstrong's Gemini 8 mission, during which a stuck thruster led to a high-speed spin that required an emergency abort. And it happens again in the terror of the Apollo 1 fire, which Chazelle smartly shot in close to real time, with barely 20 seconds elapsing from the moment of first spark to the death of the crew. It was across those tiny temporal divides that space heroes could go from cockpit to coffin.

"For three of the best and the brightest to be extinguished in that amount of time," Chazelle says. "To me the important thing was to emphasize the speed."

If Armstrong was confident he could handle the temperamental machines, what caused him more problems were the humans who inconveniently populate the world along with the hardware. After the funeral for his friend See, he stays only so long at the neighborhood gathering in one of the astronauts' homes before escaping to the quiet of his own backyard, where he gazes up at the stars. His friend White—whom we don't yet know is a member of the walking dead himself—follows him and tries to coax him back inside.

"You think I'm standing out here in the backyard 'cause I wanna talk to somebody, Ed?" Armstrong snaps.

It fell to Jan Armstrong in real life, and to Foy in the film, to serve as a sort of land bridge between the larger world of friends and family, and the island nation that was Armstrong. The night before he leaves his Houston home to fly to Cape Canaveral and from there to the moon, he busies himself packing—packing too much and too slowly—because as long as he's engaged in that mundane business, he has a chance of waiting out his sons—Rick, 12, and Mark, 6—in the hope that they'll go to bed and he can avoid what could be his last goodbye. Foy, as Jan, is having none of it.

"You're gonna sit them down now, both of them, and you're gonna prepare them for the fact that you might not ever come home," she demands. "You're doing that. You. Not me. I'm done."

And so he does, in his fashion. He gathers the family around the dining-room table and, in a scene built less of speech than of silence, tries his best to be open with his sons.

"Do you think you're coming back?" Rick asks.

"We have real confidence in the mission," Armstrong answers. "There are risks, but we have every intention of coming back." Mark hugs his father,

Chazelle and Gosling strove to make Armstrong authentic

but Rick merely shakes his hand.

"I remember the meeting," Mark says today, "because we rarely ever met in the dining room. I came away from the meeting very confident that Dad was just going on another mission and I'd see him on the other side." If the famous Armstrong reserve is heritable, it's captured in Mark's use of so clinical a word as *meeting*.

NEIL ARMSTRONG may have measured out his warmth and humanness in coffee spoons, but he had his moments and the movie shows them. There's a sweet scene of horseplay with the boys, with Armstrong chasing them around the house, scooping one up and announcing triumphantly to Jan, "I got one!" as if he were catching puppies. There's the deadpan wit he wields in a single line he directs at his Apollo 11 crewmate Buzz Aldrin—whose blunderbuss bluntness was the temperamental opposite of Armstrong's studied quiet.

I observed both sides of Armstrong up close and at length, during a 12-day morale tour of military bases in the Middle East in 2010 that featured Armstrong; Jim Lovell, the commander of Apollo 13; and Gene Cernan, the commander of Apollo 17. There were dozens of people in our traveling party, and Armstrong would chat when he had to, read when he was allowed and light up mostly when he was onstage, addressing servicemen and servicewomen young enough to be his children or even grandchildren, or in the back of the bus with Lovell and Cernan, sharing stories and laughing at inside jokes so *deeply* inside that only the 21 others who flew to the moon would get them.

> ***'I [was] very confident that Dad was just going on another mission and I'd see him on the other side.'***
>
> **MARK ARMSTRONG,** Neil Armstrong's son

If *First Man* is a movie we can appreciate at our current hinge point in history, it's not entirely clear that it's a movie we deserve. The America that sent nine crews of astronauts to the moon was a politically riven one, just as the current America is. But the battles that were fought concerned profound issues—the Vietnam War, civil rights.

Many of the battles we fight in 2018 are rather less consequential. Indeed, one ensnared *First Man* itself. The portion of the film that takes place on the lunar surface is faithful to the actual landing—in pacing, in language, in Armstrong's movements as he took the epochal steps. It is faithful too in a private moment he spent, a few dozen yards away, at a formation called Little West Crater. What happens there is a perhaps invented, perhaps authentic grace note for Armstrong's character. (According to Hansen, the Armstrong family believes that something very similar to what we see on the screen may indeed have occurred.) Either way, the scene brings us back to the heart and the heartbreak that were Armstrong.

But no sooner were early screenings held than a storm of outrage erupted over the fact that the lunar flag-raising scene was not included. That *First Man* is practically a valentine to America, that it is fairly festooned with flags in every other scene, did not seem to matter.

The Apollo program itself did not escape the politics of its time. *First Man* includes a montage of peace and civil rights rallies from the era that took direct aim at NASA. The scene is set to the 1970 recording of "Whitey on the Moon," by African-American jazz poet Gil Scott-Heron:

I can't pay no doctor bill
(But Whitey's on the moon)
Ten years from now I'll be payin' still
(While Whitey's on the moon)
Was all that money I made last year
(For Whitey on the moon?)
How come there ain't no money here?
(Hm! Whitey's on the moon)

Scott-Heron's questions are pointed, and they remain relevant. A nation does make choices about how to spend its money, and while America still has a space program, it still has plenty of people who can't pay their doctor bills too.

But budgetary decisions frame more abstract questions as well—involving who, as a nation, we want to be; where, as a nation, we want to plant our literal or metaphorical flag. We chose, in the 1960s, to plant it on the moon, and we continue to plant it in space today—carried by explorers who are no longer all white, all male. *First Man* makes a bracing case for why that can be the right choice—and why Armstrong, a man who suffered long yet carried on, was the right person to lead us. ◻

TELEVISION

In the woods, something amiss

By Judy Berman

IN HER 20S, LENA DUNHAM BUILT A MULTIMEDIA EMPIRE around the maxim "write what you know." But one young life can fuel only so many stories, and so the creator and star of *Girls,* now 32, is branching out: on Oct. 14, she and *Girls* co-showrunner Jenni Konner return to HBO with *Camping,* an eight-episode series whose characters bear far less resemblance to Dunham.

Adapted from a British comedy of the same name, the show follows four middle-aged couples on a campout in celebration of their sweet friend Walt's (David Tennant) 45th birthday. Walt's wife Kathryn McSorley-Jodell is the story's chaotic center, a hypochondriacal control freak and would-be Instagram lifestyle guru played with bone-deep prissiness by Jennifer Garner. The plot is minimal, but each character packs enough emotional baggage to push the scenes along: Kathryn's meek sister Carleen (Ione Skye) arrives with her alcoholic husband (Chris Sullivan) and his sulky teenage daughter (Cheyenne Haynes) in tow. Walt's gregarious best buddy George (Brett Gelman) drags along his wife Nina-Joy (Gelman's real-life spouse, filmmaker Janicza Bravo), who abruptly ended her friendship with Kathryn sometime ago and has been dreading this reunion. Recently separated from his own wife, Miguel (Arturo del Puerto) has taken up with a DJ/reiki healer/CPA named Jandice (Juliette Lewis, underutilized as usual), whose free spirit and sexual openness make Kathryn McSorley-Jodell extremely uncomfortable.

AS THESE TENSIONS FESTER, everyone nurses a wound or a secret, the way old friends at *The Big Chill*–like gatherings always do. Rooted in her own vague pelvic woes, Kathryn's obsession with injury and illness is ruining her son's (Duncan Joiner) childhood and trying her husband's patience. The seams in Jandice's hedonistic lifestyle start to show. Strangely, however, none of these revelations deepen characters that come across as either broad types (Kathryn, Jandice, Joe) or half-formed foils for those oddballs (everyone else).

An eclectic cast of actors playing largely against type does its best to smooth over uneven characterizations: comedian and cabaret star Bridget Everett, best known for stealing scenes in *Trainwreck* and *Lady Dynamite,* is a standout, dripping rugged charm in a recurring role as the campground's butch lesbian proprietor Harry. Tennant, a former *Doctor Who* lead who also played the diabolical Kilgrave in Netflix's hit *Jessica Jones,* further demonstrates his range as a long-suffering husband who truly loves his nutty wife. It's just a shame that his understated performance belongs to a different universe from Kathryn's larger-than-life neuroses.

Dunham and Konner could have avoided this dissonance by taking more, or less, from the British original

The original *Camping,* which aired on Sky Atlantic in 2016, offers some clues as to what went wrong. Carrying on a proud tradition of British humor about decent people forced to tolerate narcissists *(The Office, Keeping Up Appearances, Absolutely Fabulous),* the slight yet droll comedy cast creator Julia Davis as an older, stodgier, more out-of-touch version of Garner's lead. But Dunham and Konner clearly wanted to satirize a type more familiar to them, making Kathryn a liberal helicopter mom in a DON'T HATE MEDITATE sweatshirt, despite giving her lines—"Christ on a cracker!"—that no one in that particular social group would ever say. Similarly, though Lewis' counterpart in the original series also oozes sexual energy, an added layer of New Age silliness makes Jandice a flightier caricature. Through no fault of Lewis', a late attempt to give her some depth, in one of many scenes imported directly from the U.K. version, just doesn't ring true.

Dunham and Konner could have avoided this dissonance by taking significantly more or less from the original: by either filming a shot-for-shot remake of the show or reimagining Davis' premise with entirely new characters for an American audience. Instead, *Camping* wanders down both paths—and gets lost in the woods. ☐

FIRST MAN: UNIVERSAL; ALL-AMERICAN: CW; CAMPING: HBO

Braving the elements: Walt (Tennant) and Kathryn (Garner)

PROFILE

Samin Nosrat takes the home cook abroad

By Eliana Dockterman

WHEN SAMIN NOSRAT LAUGHS, SHE TILTS HER WHOLE body back and fills the room with sound, uproariously, not unlike Julia Child. If Netflix was looking for a successor to that cooking icon, it found one. Nosrat's new streaming show, *Salt Fat Acid Heat* (Oct. 11), based on her best-selling cookbook by the same name, inherits the best aspects of Child's famed series *The French Chef*. Both women published groundbreaking cookbooks that won James Beard Awards. Both emphasize the basics of cooking over the memorization of recipes. And like Child—who once dropped a potato pancake, shrugged her shoulders and threw it back into the pan—when Nosrat makes a mistake, she owns up to it quickly.

"I put way too much salt in that," she says after taste-testing a pickled cauliflower floret and puckering her lips in a Brooklyn studio kitchen. "Nothing to do now but let it cool. Things taste less salty when they're cool." She turns to the grilled cheese that's begun to ooze Parmesan, cheddar and mozzarella from between bronzed slices of bread, then beckons me closer to hear, smell and touch. "Not to brag, but this is perfect," she says. She laughs again, and I'm giggling too.

Just as Child introduced America to French cooking, Nosrat is poised to teach America about the rest of the culinary landscape. The *Salt Fat Acid Heat* cookbook explains that those four elements are the basis of all dishes. Learn to balance them perfectly, and you'll learn to create the perfect meal. Take the grilled cheese: if the pan is too hot, the bread will burn without the cheese melting; too cool, and the sandwich will turn soggy. The butter on the bread is the best fat to marry with the heat for this result. The cheese on the inside provides the necessary saltiness to cut through the butter, and the pickles on the side provide the acidity needed to balance a rich meal.

On the show, Nosrat aims to give home cooks similar tools to prepare any kind of food. She travels around the world—to Italy, Japan, Mexico and, finally, Nosrat's native Berkeley, Calif.—and learns about the origins of our food from professional dairy farmers and fishermen, and visits the homes of locals who teach us how to use those ingredients. She then incorporates the lessons into her own cooking segments, shot back in California.

Nosrat struck upon the idea for the book and eventual show when she was working at Alice Waters' legendary restaurant Chez Panisse. Nosrat visited the restaurant as a student at the University of California, Berkeley. She once harbored ambitions to become a doctor, but she was so awed by Waters' chocolate soufflé that she wrote a letter to the chef to ask for a job at the restaurant busing tables. The chefs assigned her cookbooks to read at night, but Nosrat remained confused about cooking.

Food shows are booming, even though viewers can't touch, smell or taste what they see on TV. But Nosrat's grilled cheese really is delicious

"A chef would come in each morning and say something like, 'I just went to Provence and was inspired by the fennel fronds by the ocean,'" says Nosrat. "And everyone just got up and did it. There was no measuring cup, no timer. I had no idea how everybody knew exactly what to do, no matter what part of the world the food was from." After two years, she realized all the chefs were paying attention to four elements: salt, fat, acid and heat. She went to her boss with this revelation. "Duh,"

she remembers him saying. "Everyone knows this." But everyone didn't. Home cooks didn't.

Nosrat traveled to Italy to learn more about classic cooking. Upon her return to California she began teaching classes that focused not on following recipes but on understanding the science and art of food. She counted Michael Pollan, author of *The Omnivore's Dilemma,* among her students. It was he who encouraged her to turn her obsession with those four elements into a cookbook. Soon after it was published, Netflix scooped up the rights for a show. The concept was new, yes, but they also recognized star power in Nosrat, who felt relatable. "Netflix kept reminding me that this show was about me," says Nosrat, "in all my imperfections with my Birkenstocks and my overalls and that dirty rag sitting right over there in the shot."

WHEN ANTHONY BOURDAIN passed away, he left a hole in the food world. Many critics, foodies and chefs applauded the way Bourdain expanded viewers' culinary horizons on *No Reservations* and *Parts Unknown*. Food, they argued, was universal. There's a persistent, idealistic notion that two people can build a political bridge by breaking bread. But we can't actually solve the world's problems with tacos or brisket; people can be hypocritical, as can their palates. Comedian Hasan Minhaj has joked that he spots the same conservative pundits who spout slurs about Muslims at the halal cart buying shawarma.

Still, everyone has to eat. "Food is not the solution, but it's a means to bring people together," says Nosrat. This is a concept of particular interest to Netflix as it continues to expand its international reach. Unlike the Food Network or the Cooking Channel, Netflix's audience spans 190 countries. Food shows once isolated in their local territories can become sensations abroad when they hit streaming services. (Think: *The Great British Bake Off.*) According to Netflix, at least 50 million accounts, more than one-third of its subscribers, have tuned into one of its food shows.

But who will usher viewers into these new worlds remains a pressing question, and Nosrat is a promising answer. Not many hosts of food shows look like Nosrat. The restaurant industry remains a notoriously male-driven world, and the male food stars on television often, like Bourdain, exude a certain rebelliousness. Nosrat, by contrast, is warm and approachable.

She's also not a food tourist: as food shows proliferate and camera crews film segments in less economically developed countries, the issue of how Westerners appropriate other cultures for their own enjoyment has become more pressing.

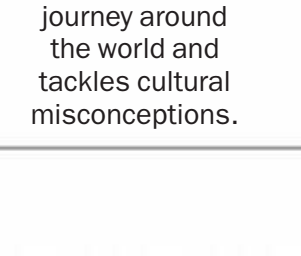
"I grew up eating and loving Persian food, going to school and everyone making fun of me," says Nosrat. "Now there are hip Persian restaurants where you can't get a reservation. But at the same time that my food is being loved upon, we're suffering from a travel ban. These are things I feel personally hurt by."

Nosrat isn't afraid of tackling these topics. "I think the conversation needs to get more nuanced," she says. "It's our job to learn about these historically repressed places as you eat their delicious food and think about ways to invest in those peoples." For her part, she's been working with a nonprofit to promote the honey made by the Yucatán farmers whom she featured on the show.

Nosrat interrupts these meditations to cut up the grilled cheese before it cools. When I hesitate over a pickled jalapeño, she scrapes out a few of the seeds for me, unprompted, to make sure the pepper isn't too hot. She reassures me that now that I've mastered this cooking method for grilled cheese, I can apply that same philosophy to French toast or quesadillas or a million other recipes. It's rainy outside, and the grilled cheese is warm and comforting. For a minute, we forget about the gray weather and think only of that most perfect marriage: gooey cheese and crispy bread. ☐

Fast food

Netflix is building a slate of original food shows to capitalize on the genre's international appeal:



CHEF'S TABLE
Each episode of this beautifully shot show features the origin story and revolutionary ideas of a different chef.

NAILED IT!
Nicole Byer and Jacques Torres host a competition that tasks poor home cooks with baking successful desserts.

UGLY DELICIOUS
Chef David Chang takes a culinary journey around the world and tackles cultural misconceptions.

COLE WILSON FOR TIME; CHEF'S TABLE, NAILED IT!, UGLY DELICIOUS: GETTY IMAGES (4)

7 Questions

Ellie Kemper The *Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt* star on her new essay collection, befriending animals and the perks of being a redhead

On the cover of your book, *My Squirrel Days*, you're posed with a squirrel. Was that a real squirrel? Yes, her name was Squirrel. She had done a lot of commercial work and was comfortable on set. She sat on my arms, on my shoulder, on branches, on the desk. There was one scary moment where she slipped on my blouse, and I didn't know whether to catch her or not. I think Squirrel lost confidence in me then. The particular shot on the cover was probably Photoshopped because it looks too perfect. But I want to be clear that there was a live squirrel at the photo shoot and, yes, I am very brave.

How did you come up with the title? I look like a really sneaky squirrel in my first headshot. My husband and I were looking through photos—I can't remember why, I don't just spend my days sitting around looking at headshots—and he said, "If you ever write a book, you should call it *My Squirrel Days*." The title also refers to one of the essays in the book, about a friendship I attempted to forge with an obese squirrel I named Natalie as a child.

You write that people treated you differently when you dyed your hair brown for *The Office*. How so? It was an interesting social experiment. First of all, I didn't realize how much I used my red hair and girlish laughter to attempt to charm people and get free desserts. When I was a brunette, I felt like people took me more seriously. I don't know if it's the characters I play or the fact that I'm a redhead, but people laugh at me before I say anything. This just happened at FedEx the other day.

Your character on *Kimmy Schmidt* is locked in a bunker for years, and the show begins when she's saved. How did you know the creators, Tina Fey and Robert Carlock, would successfully turn a very tragic situation into a comedy? Honestly, I was really worried about that when they told me the premise of the show, because there's nothing funny about that situation. I went home and was like, Are they pranking me? Is this a test? But I figured if anyone could turn tragedy into comedy, it would be them.

"I DON'T KNOW IF IT'S THE CHARACTERS I PLAY OR THAT I'M A REDHEAD, BUT PEOPLE LAUGH AT ME BEFORE I SAY ANYTHING"

EMMA MCINTYRE—GETTY IMAGES

As a writer, what have you learned from Tina Fey? I'm not in the writers' room, but I've learned a lot about precision of language from performing their words. We said those lines down to the preposition. If we said *a* instead of *the*, we were corrected.

Did you ask her for advice on writing a book? Her book *Bossypants* is so brilliant. She possesses an unrivaled ability to make a joke and a statement at the same time. But I felt a million times better after listening to her experience: She was sobbing in the shower on deadline—she had just found out she was pregnant. I was pregnant while writing too, and was like, *I'm having a baby—that's an actual deadline*. But it was another two years before I finished.

I hope this wasn't the case, but did you sob a lot while writing your book too? Oh yeah, I sobbed in the shower. Sobbed on the subway. Sobbed at SoulCycle. I cry pretty regularly about things like missing the train, so that was inevitable.

This feels like a good time to bring up your love of SoulCycle. On *Kimmy Schmidt*, a similar cycling class is revealed to be a cult. I know, I know. But I'm obsessed. When I'm in a bad mood, my husband suggests that I visit Rique, my favorite instructor. It makes me feel like I'm 18 again on my college field-hockey team, and we're working as a team to get through this training session. I'm the idiot who is *whoop-whoop*ing the whole time. I do it whether it's encouraged or not.

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

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